

DE GRUYTER

Charles W. Connell

POPULAR OPINION IN THE MIDDLE AGES

CHANNELING PUBLIC IDEAS AND ATTITUDES



FUNDAMENTALS OF MEDIEVAL
AND EARLY MODERN CULTURE

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Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture



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Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge

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Preface

Historians have long struggled with issues that constitute the focus of this study. As Joseph Strayer wryly observed about public opinion in 1957, “historians could seldom study it directly. They had to deduce its existence [...] much like astronomers trying to prove the existence of a new heavenly body which they have not yet seen.”¹ For most periods of the past the surviving sources often reveal the opinions of only a small group of the most articulate and more elite of society. Although this remains true for the Middle Ages, my study does not attempt to find a new way to measure the opinion of the public ‘scientifically.’ Instead, I present a synthesis and an analysis of the way modern scholars have shown the way the public (*populus* or ‘people’) was being perceived; how medieval sources reveal the evolution of a public sphere in which ideas were articulated and debated; and, the degree to which public opinion could be shown to have influence.

Recent research on the primary topics found in this study can trace its roots to two scholars who published significant works on the influence of communication within a year of each other. One focused on medieval culture and the other on the Enlightenment, but in recent years the results of their work have tended to converge within the research of medievalists. In 1990 *The Vox Dei* by Sophia Menache laid out the way various medieval media communicated and was used by ‘the Church’ to deal with issues in the struggle for power with lay elements for control of Christian society. The 1989 English translation of the study by Jürgen Habermas entitled *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* [*Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962)] articulated a theory of how the bourgeoisie convened in public places in an attempt to develop a way to influence public power. Although Menache was likely not yet aware of this particular work, she did cite his earlier book on communication published in an English translation of 1979.² Menache drew attention to the ways communication became ‘political’ in the central Middle Ages—to how it was used by the clergy to achieve support and cooperation; to how monarchy became a ‘cult’ and began to employ national symbols to overcome crises in the Hundred Years’ War; how both monarchs and clergy used the Crusades to justify war; and how those who came to be defined as heretics demonstrated some of the most creative and adaptive systems of communication to influence a widening

¹ Strayer, “The Historian’s Concept of Public Opinion” (1957), 263.

² Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990); Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1989); Habermas, *Communication and the Evolution of Society* (1979).

public. Habermas, on the other hand, construed a public sphere wherein private individuals of the bourgeois class come together to consider, debate, and develop ideas which in turn they attempted to represent as the ‘public good’ in order to persuade those in power to incorporate them into the power circles. By delimiting the origins of the ‘public sphere’ to the male bourgeois Enlightenment society, Habermas stirred up a hornet’s nest that continues to arouse scholars of all eras who find evidence of the existence of public spheres from the ancient to modern times. In reaching to the sources for the Middle Ages, for example, scholars of various disciplines have tended to take up the same issues and fundamental questions concerning communication, influence, and the role of the ‘people’ that Menache found challenging, and have shed new light on her work as well as that of Habermas.

In this book, my argument focuses in two directions, the first being on how the elite (lay and ecclesiastical) became more aware of the power of the common opinion being expressed in a variety of ways, and how those elite tried to influence and shape that common opinion to support their own view of the common good. Secondly, I illustrate how the research of most recent years reveals not ‘the public,’ but rather several publics from various levels of medieval society that actually had some impact on the nature of the dialogue on political issues of widespread importance. Underlying this dialogue was the desire to control power, a subject that has been one major center of attention among many excellent medieval scholars in the past twenty years. The one who stands out perhaps most is Thomas Bisson, who has drawn our attention to many aspects of it while at the same time enlightening us on how many in society (the ‘people’ at various levels) actually experienced it.³ I contend that as the nature of human power evolved so did the means used to construct and influence it. As western Europe settled down, grew its population, rebuilt its towns and renewed and refocused the struggle for the ‘right order’ in society, it experimented with new kinds of and uses of public space which attracted crowds of people. The sites where crowds

³ His most recent comprehensive work, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century* (2009), focuses on power as lordship, or the domination of people by one or few as it came to maturity in the twelfth century. This book is shaped in particular by his earlier research on “Medieval Lordship” (1995); and, *Tormented Voices* (1998). His influence is highlighted by the publication of an anthology which he edited, *Cultures of Power* (1995); and, a *festschrift* in his honor, *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950–1350*, ed. Berkhofer, Cooper, and Kosto (2005). His views of both power and crisis have challenged scholars to think of the issues in new ways. See, for example, the reviews of *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century* by Judith Green in *The English Historical Review* 125 (2010): 680–82; William Chester Jordan, in *Law and History Review* 29 (2011): 634–36; Warren C. Brown, in *Central European History* 43 (2010): 34–42; and, Alice Taylor, in *Speculum* 85 (2010): 935–37.

gathered presented opportunities for the potential influence of greater numbers and thus for control of power. I trace the evolution by examining several key events that affected broad cross-sections of medieval society, including the Peace of God movement of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the ecclesiastical reform that overlapped that era and extended into the thirteenth century, the pursuit of heresy, and the Crusades. By the fourteenth century, the growth of urban society had a much more visible impact on the ways in which public spaces were developed and how literature, theater and public markets helped shape a broader public to communicate and influence decisions affecting many sectors of society. Finally, I look at the work of a sample of political thinkers from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries to see whether what was happening to and by the “people” in various public spaces was having any impact on how those thinkers were conceiving the ideal political state and who should have power within it.

Overall, based on the rapidly mounting research of the past several decades, I conclude that the medieval perception of ‘the people’ and its impact on political matters that affected a widespread spectrum of society functioned at two levels. One was metaphysical and the other pragmatic. These two sometimes intersected, as when the fear of a phantom public, that is, of a crowd turning into a mob, or even a massive eruption of violence against the elite, actually had some impact on political decisions.

An important issue in discussing the medieval power struggle is identification of the contenders, which is not so easy as it sounds. To avoid the simplistic and unrealistic portrayal of a contest between ‘state’ and ‘church,’ medieval scholars tend lately to be more careful with the use of such terms because they muddle the complexity of the meanings in the context of medieval society. Instead they often separate the populace into laity and clergy, but those also can be too sweeping. Therefore, I will try as much as possible herein to identify individuals, or specific positions held (by a bishop, pope, abbot, king, emperor, duke, etc.), or to qualify my usage of the more general terms. Yet, the one that remains crucial is that of ‘the Church,’ which implies a monolithic body of central authority and power that simply did not exist.

However, this does not mean that medieval ecclesiastics were totally clear on the usage of the common Latin term *ecclesia*. Lanfranc of Bec (ca. 1005–1089), as Archbishop of Canterbury, may have written while counseling Abbot Rudolf of St. Vanne, to the effect that there are not many different churches (*aeclessiae*), but only one that extends throughout the whole world.⁴ Although the authentic-

4 “non sunt plures aeclessiae, sed una et toto orbe diffusa, et uni Deo ubique servitur, uni regi

ity of the letter has been contested in recent years, there is other evidence that Lanfranc held the view that Rome had a true claim to primacy within ‘the Church’ as described in the letter and based on petrine succession described in Matthew 16: 18–19.⁵ He believed in the totality of the delegated power that came to the Church as an institution.

A contemporary of Lanfranc, Sigebert of Gembloux (ca. 1030–1112), lamenting about the attempt of Gregory VII to eliminate simony, wrote after the Lenten Synod of 1075 “Who does not grieve at so great an upheaval in the Church (*ecclesia*)?”⁶ The account by Baudri of Dol of the speech of Urban II calling for the first armed expedition to the Holy Land in 1095 has Urban calling attention to the plight of Byzantines, and pleading with the audience to consider them part of the “same church.” Following the failure of the Second Crusade, Pope Eugenius III wrote to the Abbot Suger urging him to dissuade Louis VII from another crusade because of the serious detriment currently afflicted on the reputation of “God’s church.”⁷ By the time we reach the contest over the potential replacement of supreme spiritual authority in the conciliar debates of the fourteenth century, we find Marsilius of Padua asserting that “the primary authority within the Church rests with the General Council.” It would appear that in the medieval context whenever the power and authority of the pope came into question, there was an attempt to reclaim the concept of ‘the Church’ as a monolithic universal Roman Church led by the bishop of Rome. But the contested nature of the claim should rightfully alert modern scholars to be skeptical of its widespread acceptance, even within the boundaries of western Christendom.

In this study I will try to be attentive to the thoughtful caution issued several years ago by Gary Macy in his article on “Demythologizing ‘the Church’ in the Middle Ages,”⁸ which argues that historians should pay attention to the complexity of late medieval Christianity. He acknowledges that, as Maureen Miller has recently reminded us,⁹ a distinct clerical culture with its own laws and rituals did exist, and that sometimes contemporaries of that era referred to this culture

militatur,” as cited in Healy, “A Supposed Letter of Archbishop Lanfranc” (2006), 1386. An edition of the text is provided in an appendix to the Healy article.

⁵ Healy, “A Supposed Letter of Archbishop Lanfranc” (2006), 1402. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc* (2003), 204, n. 34, accepts that the letter may be genuine. Clover and Gibson, ed., *The Letters of Lanfranc* (1979), did not. Gibson, in her monograph, *Lanfranc of Bec* (1978), had earlier stated her view that the letter was spurious. See a brief discussion about the debate in Healy, “A Supposed Letter” (2006), 1386–87.

⁶ MGH, *Libelli de Lite Imperatorum et Pontificum* ii, 438.

⁷ For further discussion of the context, see below pp. 165–167.

⁸ Macy, *Treasures from the Storeroom* (1999).

⁹ Miller, “Religion Makes a Difference” (2000).

as ‘the Church.’ As well, groups of clergy within the hierarchy held greater power, and so it is likely that for some contemporaries this was what they meant by ‘the Church.’ It is perhaps most likely that the pope, or a legate or judicial representative operating on his behalf, was considered ‘the Church’ by many from time to time as we shall see in the chapters that follow. This might especially apply in the various occasions when the kings of England found themselves confronted with rulings from Rome. In the case of Henry II, for example, who wanted to assert more authority in the “strifes and dissensions which had taken place between the clergy and justices of the lord king and the barons of the realm,” Henry laid down the gauntlet that if a clerk “be convicted, or shall confess [to a matter rightfully belonging to the jurisdiction of the king’s court], *the church* must not any longer protect him.”¹⁰

There are many ways to perceive of ‘the Church.’ Macy focused on the ‘authority’ of the hierarchical institution which was developed most clearly, not in the Middle Ages, but only in the Reformation era and still being debated in the nineteenth century. As he points out, most medieval debates occurred over authority within ‘the Church.’¹¹ One can also imagine those of the Middle Ages who saw it as a way of life (*vita apostolica*) or as a prime legislator (canons of councils of the clerical hierarchy). The theologians might accept Augustine’s view of ‘the Church’ as ‘all saved people,’ including the ‘just’ who were not baptized, or even as only the mystical form, achieved in heaven and not on earth.¹² Later, it was Stephen Langton who reinforced that notion of ‘the Church’ as ‘all the faithful.’¹³ The lay barons might have seen ‘the Church’ as a metaphysical lordship to be contested in learned disputes as in the Investiture Contest and Gregorian Reform eras, or in consideration of the conciliar alternative to papal authority in the early fourteenth century. However, for the greatest number in medieval society, the peasants, ‘the Church’ was likely the local bishops and priests. The clergy as teachers helped them find ‘the Church’ in Scriptural images, and served as local protectors of their safety and property as in the case of the Peace of God movement. Perhaps, more importantly, the local clergy were the caretakers and providers of the sacraments which offered them the best hope for ultimate membership in ‘the Church’ of heaven.

¹⁰ *The Constitutions of Clarendon*, ch. 3., trans. Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (1910; 1966), 68–82; emphasis mine.

¹¹ Macy, “Demythologizing ‘the Church’” (1995), 125; see also 122 and 124.

¹² Also, on Aquinas, see Dulles, “The Church According to Thomas Aquinas” (1982), 157, who says that Thomas did not require submission to church hierarchy or dogma as necessary components of church membership.

¹³ Van Engen, “Sacred Sanctions for Lordship” (1995), 222.

Part of the blame for the creation of the myth of a monolithic Church can be found in the political satire of the medieval world. The court of the English kings was its target among Anglo-Norman poets, but in France it was 'the Church.' But satire worked in bilateral ways; even as they attacked the kings and "desacralized" them, this tended to elevate the power of God in the hands of clerical officials or 'the Church.'¹⁴ In another direction, as the hierarchy at Lateran IV in 1215 forbade further participation of their own clerics in the practice of the traditional ordeal which affected such a broad cross-section of judicial practice, it could not escape recognition of a diminished power within 'the Church.'¹⁵ At a time when Innocent III was making strong renewed claims to both the universal and the spiritual papal primacy of authority, even he decided that it was untenable to use the ordeal "to force God to perform judicial miracles."¹⁶ Nevertheless, decretal letters continued to express the pope's superior jurisdiction in Christian society and to reinforce the basis for the exercise of that authority by direct papal action or by the means of judges delegate.¹⁷

One of the arguments made regarding the exercise of papal authority via delegates was founded in the assumption that the power of 'the Church' was the power of God, therefore churchmen were acting as the "ministers of God."¹⁸ Here we have the basis for yet another sense of 'the Church,' namely that of spiritual coercion based in the hands of the pope and his delegates. Macy has suggested that it may be unfair to identify 'the Church' with the papists, but in closing this discussion I think we must consider the possibility that the pope as Church might have in fact been operational in the minds of those contesting power issues in the court of public opinion as we reach the peak of the era under consideration in this study. Power was certainly at stake in the Peace movement, the Gregorian Reforms, the pursuit of heresy, and the Crusades. In the earlier periods, local clerics were taking the initiative, but by mid-eleventh century Pope Gregory VII took center stage. This leadership role was elevated by Urban II, and even more so by Innocent III, who, by the turn of the thirteenth

¹⁴ Koziol, "England, France, and the Problem of Sacrality" (1995), 143. Also, see Pepin, *Literature of Satire* (1988); Turk, *Nugae curialium* (1977); Yunk, *The Lineage of Lady Meed* (1963), 147 and 160–66.

¹⁵ Caenegem, "Law and Power in Twelfth-Century Flanders" (1995), 160–61.

¹⁶ Duggan, "Papal Judges Delegate and the Making of 'New Law'" (1995), 172.

¹⁷ Duggan, "Papal Judges Delegate and the Making of 'New Law'" (1995), 175. For further discussion of the decretals on the primacy of the Roman Church, see Duggan, *Twelfth-Century Decretal Collections* (1963), 34–39.

¹⁸ Van Engen, "Sacred Sanctions" (1995), 212–14.

century made the strongest claims to a monolithic definition of ‘the Church’ and its power at both metaphysical and practical levels.

In what follows I will try to be consistent in first applying the term ‘the Church’ only in those cases where papal letters or conciliar canons were being distributed and/or cited that mandated a common action on behalf of a common goal (e.g., a crusade or pursuit of heretics) that attempts to affect all of the faithful in western Christendom). In some cases, it may be that a document of some form may be noted wherein someone purports naively or cynically to represent ‘the Church,’ and I will point this out. Otherwise, I will try to use terms that distinguish a less universal application, and/or identify individuals in their appropriate roles and contexts.

Scope and Organization

This study proceeds topically within the chronological period from 950 to 1350. It begins in the second half of the tenth century with the Peace of God movement that some envision as the beginnings of modern public opinion, and it concludes with mid-fourteenth-century events and collective activities that widened the public sphere, as well as theoretical treatises about representation and consent which reflected upon those events. There is some overlap between the chapters because the major events covered topically are coterminous and ongoing. I chose to end the study in approximately mid-fourteenth century because events (e.g., popular rebellions, Hundred Years’ War) and ideas (public intellectuals exemplified by Jean Gerson or in the English popular literature and vernacular language of Chaucer, Gower, and Langland) after 1350 propel us into a grey era between “medieval” and modern. In effect they accelerate the process of evolution that I trace up to that point and take us into another chapter in the pre-modern development of public opinion and public culture studies.

Chapter one begins with how the medieval world started to use terms like *populus* and propaganda and how those terms relate to modern terms and concepts, especially public opinion. Then, since the sermon became the major medium of communication to broad audiences, I review samples of the literature that has focused on its evolution as a tool for persuasion and influence. This chapter introduces readers to concepts that apply throughout the remainder of the book.

Next, I turn to the analysis of major events in the medieval world that attracted widespread attention and have become the center of research regarding the nature and influence of public opinion in that era. Chapter Two focuses on the Peace of God movement that began around 980 and continued to have

some influence into the late eleventh century. This chapter also considers aspects of that movement, especially relic displays, cults, various forms of popular enthusiasm, and crowds to see how those influenced the expansion of the medieval public sphere. As well, I highlight how the use of excommunication and cursing helped to maximize the power of fear to shape public opinion. Chapter three shows how the Investiture Contest and Gregorian Reform overlap in illustrating ways that the medieval world came to use polemics found in treatises and letters to develop and use networks of influence to support points of view and conceptions of the “people.” Chapter four examines ways in which the sermon, public disputes, and the inquisitional process were employed in the definition and pursuit of heresy and divided the medieval public sphere while further demonstrating the fickle nature of public opinion. Chapter five concludes the examination of major events with a lengthy review of select crusading events. In particular, the First and Second Crusades, as well as the mounting opposition to crusading that occurred following the failures of Innocent III to launch any successful expedition to the Holy Land in the early thirteenth century, are the examples that shape the analysis of the enhanced importance of organized preaching campaigns, the seeking of information and opinions, and the various alternatives to crusading which were addressed in the public sphere.

In chapter six I take a broad sampling of the impact of urbanization on medieval public space. The building of more and larger churches, the expansion of theatres and other spectacles into non-traditional spaces to accommodate larger crowds, and the marketplace as a center for publicizing all kinds of public activity of the clergy, the royalty, and the rising bourgeoisie in order to influence political activity are the foci of this analysis. Finally, in chapter seven I turn to an examination of a sampling of theoretical treatises by several political thinkers of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in order to see how the practice of enlarging the public sphere was being considered in theory. Did, or even should, the ‘people’ actually influence those in power; did they have any real impact; or did the public and its opinion remain a ‘phantom’?

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Chapter 1

Constructing the Public, its Opinion and its Media of Influence

One of the well-worn clichés known to those who study the macro-history of Europe is that of the “rise of the people.”¹ Though no longer approached simplistically or naively within a construct of Western history as one of progress, in fact, there is still much interest in how “the people” fared during any particular era of that long history. The period under review in this study (950–1350) has been regarded as one of the most dynamic and formative. Some refer to big chunks of that time as “revolutionary;” a period of “renaissance;” “the most important period of change in the medieval Church;” the European economic “take-off,” or even the very “making of Europe.” So surely one’s curiosity ought to be aroused about what happened to “the people” in this era. How did Europeans construct the elements of the growing population and assign them roles in society? What were the major issues of power and who were the contestants in that struggle? How did they perceive and try to influence one another? Were collective communities more important? And, if so, how did they shape their views of society and/or try to influence others to adopt those views? How did individuals operate in their private and public domains, and what role did various forms of communication play in making the views of individual and communities known to one another? Did “the people” come to have any real power in the political equation or did they remain in the shadows?

In this chapter, I begin the approach to such questions with reflections on how scholars have dealt with key concepts that are fundamental to the analysis of major medieval events that attracted the attention of large numbers of the populace, as well as the media of influence that were most prominent in the attempt to gain control of what is now being seen as a public sphere of political vitality.

¹ See, for example the comment of C. S. Lewis that: “I have hardly ever read a historical book which did not begin by telling me that in the period under consideration this ill-defined class [middle] was rising into new importance. Mysterious body, which appears to have been always rising, and working all evil by its rise [...]” [review of George Steiner, *The Death of Tragedy* (1961), in *Encounter* 18 (1962): 97–101].

The Public and Public Culture in the High Middle Ages

A common modern definition of the term “public” refers to it as “of or affecting the community of the people,” the roots of which can be traced to the Latin term *populus* as it was being reshaped by the Latin Church Fathers. Yet the term remained ambiguous, as it does today, and therefore difficult to translate in any one period of its use.² In the medieval world, for example, did it refer to the literate elite, the clergy only, or a broad cross-section of society including both literate and non-literate laity and clergy? In Jerome (ca. 347–420) and Augustine (354–430) the term *populus* denoted a group with the simple characteristic of a “unity” derived either from law or “some sort of political responsibility,” thus retaining the political and juridical meanings of its use by the Romans.³ Augustine likely drew upon Scipio (ca. 236–183 B.C.E.), whose opinion that the *populus* as a “gathering united in fellowship by a common sense of right and a community of interest”⁴ was influential in shaping Augustine’s own view that the Christian *populus* embraced various social classes rather than only the “common people.”⁵ Although in the world of Charlemagne (742–814) the ambiguity remained, the shadow of the *populus* began to lengthen as was apparent in the case of episcopal elections as early as the Merovingian predecessors to the Carolingian dynasty. A bishop was to be elected in a tradition controlled by the king, the clergy of the diocese, and the aristocracy, but as Patrick Geary noted, “Just over the horizon would be found the *populus* [...] who might on occasion be excited to play a role in a disputed succession. The possible titrations of this volatile mixture were as numerous as elections.”⁶ In a letter of Alcuin (ca. 740–804) to Charlemagne dated 798 the phrase *vox populi, vox Dei* first appeared. Alcuin cynically questioned the legitimacy of the “voice of the people” as being little more than the “shout of the crowd,” and not the voice of God.⁷

2 Peters, “*Vox Populi, Vox Dei*” (1990). For a review of derivations of the term “*populus*” and various semantic differentiations before 1200, see Bautier, “‘Popularis’ et la Notion de ‘Populaire’” (1975). Also, see *Le Petit Peuple dans l’Occident médiéval* (2002), ed. Boglioni, Delort, and Gauvard. For the most recent review of the historiography of medieval popular religion, see Caldwell Ames, “Authentic, True and Right” (2015).

3 Adams, *The Populus of Augustine and Jerome* (1971), 70. In his review of Adams, F. Edward Cranz urged caution in accepting the view that Augustine actually conceived of the *populus* as a “legitimate polity,” *Speculum* 48 (1973): 724–27.

4 Adams, *The Populus of Augustine and Jerome* (1971), 17 n. 13.

5 Adams, *The Populus of Augustine and Jerome* (1971), 28.

6 Geary, *Before France and Germany* (1988), 133.

7 On the modern discussion of the extent to which the voice of the people expressed with intention in the medieval world was thought to be considered the voice of God, see Peters, “*Vox*

Regardless, his disdainfully acknowledged awareness of the *populus*, or “crowd” as he referred to it, was perhaps a more nervous indication of its potential power than he cared to admit.

As we enter the period of time upon which we focus in this study, Gerbert of Aurillac (ca. 946–1003; later Pope Sylvester II, r. 999–1003), like Alcuin before him, lashed out at the role of a mob in the election of an Archbishop of Reims in 991.⁸ In the early eleventh century, at least two views of the role of the *populus* emerged. Ademar of Chabannes (ca. 988–1034) expressed the need for human beings to work together “in concert with the saints and other supernatural patrons to solve their problems” and achieve the *pax Dei* via oaths taken within the social community.⁹ Andrew of Fleury (fl. ca. 1030s), while admitting a place for discussion of common problems, saw no role for the *populus* in solving them. Instead Andrew argued that action would result from “prayerful dedication of themselves to the saints which offered a solution.”¹⁰ Here, in both instances, we see emerging a sensitivity to the *populus* as a community with common problems. Neither Ademar nor Andrew seem to make a hierarchical distinction regarding who should be discussing issues or working together to achieve a solution to community-wide problems. Nor did Gratian, who, in his *Decretum* (ca. 1150), envisioned a twofold division among Christians, the clergy/religious on the one side and the lay on the other:

The other kind of Christians are the lay. For the λαός is the people. These [the lay] are allowed to possess temporal things. [...] They are permitted to marry, till the earth, judge between man and man, litigate, place offerings on altars, pay tithes, and they can be saved thus [leading this form of life] so long as they have done good and avoided vices.¹¹

For Gratian, the “lay” were the “people,” that is, all who are not clergy or religious, but he made no distinction as to rank or function in society.

Populi” (1990), 92; earlier, Gallacher, “*Vox populi, vox Dei*” (1945); and, George Boas, “*Vox Populi*” (1969). Also, see the remarks by Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 3.

⁸ Peters, “*Vox Populi*” (1990), 100–103.

⁹ Head, “The Judgement of God” (1992), 235.

¹⁰ Head, “The Judgement of God” (1992), 234–35. For further discussion of the value of the accounts of these monks in the context of the Peace of God movement, see chapter two below.

¹¹ “Aliud vero est genus Christianorum. λαός enim est populus. His licet temporalia possidere [...] His concessum est uxorem ducere, terram colere, inter virum et verum indicare, causas agere, oblationes super altaria ponere, decimas reddere, et ita salvari poterunt, si vicia tamen benefaciendo evitaverint.” *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. Friedberg (1879) I, col. 678, as cited and translated by Biller, “Popular Religion in the Central and Later Middle Ages” (2002), 222.

By the late eleventh century it appears that the maxim *vox populi, vox Dei* moved in new directions and the *populus* was offered a more meaningful role if its voice was raised to support a program of ecclesiastical reform, or was in favor of a pope or a saint's cult, or a crusade. As we will see in chapter five below, the diverse crowd of lay and clerical representatives assembled for the sermon of Pope Urban II at Clermont in 1095 was reported at its conclusion to have exclaimed *Deus vult!*—as though it were one voice of the people speaking in the voice of God. Still, some argue that the phrase was not clearly used in a political context until as late as 1327 when Walter Reynolds, Archbishop of Canterbury (1313–1327), preached a sermon on the occasion of the deposition of Edward II (1307–1327).¹² Various terms for the “people” and who is included in the construct appear regularly in the documentation of popular protest occurring in the fourteenth century in France, Flanders, and, Italy.¹³ For example, in Paris, the *menu peuple* (commoners, i.e., fullers, weavers, tavern-keepers, and many other workers) rioted against changes in currency and the rise of rents. In Tournai, it was *parvis* (little people), and, the commoners (*communitas*, that is, the weavers, the poor, the fullers and others) who conspired against the governors. In Flanders, the commoners (*populares*) were taxed and it caused “great rumblings.” In Italy, it appears that the term *popoli* (people) was both vague and fluctuating, especially before the 1280s. Early on, it seemed to refer to the urban population only and could single out artisans or anywhere between to merchants. By 1300, divisors appeared within the ranks. The term *popolo* is found in the chronicles and government documents that began to distinguish the *popoli* or *artefici* (craftsmen with guild status) from the *popolani* as a more privileged stratum of merchants. The latter were also often known as the *popolani grassi* (fat cats) to separate them from the *popolo minuto*, or disenfranchised workers who came mostly from the wool industry.¹⁴ In the more complex environments of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, for example, Christine de Pizan (1364–ca. 1430) divided the ‘people’ into two groups of “bourgeois and merchants” and “common,” with the latter being exemplified by craftsmen and laborers.¹⁵ The bourgeois and merchants might seem to be noble at times, but “le commun” or “simple” (“simple people” or “simple laboureurs”) normally referred only to craftsmen and laborers. Whether her observations reflected a re-

¹² Peters “*Vox Populi*” (1990), 110.

¹³ See the collection of a sampling of sources translated and annotated in *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Cohn (2004). In particular, see documents 14, 15, and 18.

¹⁴ *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Cohn (2004), 42.

¹⁵ De Pizan, *Livre du corps de policie* (1406–1407), 3.4, p. 96, as cited in Dudash, “Christine de Pizan and the ‘Menu peuple’” (2003), 791.

cent or a long-standing usage is unclear, but it appears that she was attempting to achieve a clear categorization that reflected a sense of the importance of understanding the roles of the people.

Theoretical discussions of the legitimate role to be played by the *populus* began to appear by late-thirteenth century that opened up the sense of the public to include the common people. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) and John of Paris (1255–1306) examined the authority of the people, and in turn were succeeded in that pursuit by both Dante (ca. 1265–1321) and Marsilius of Padua (ca. 1275–ca. 1342). By the middle of the fourteenth century *vox populi, vox Dei* had more clearly assumed a political sense which was witnessed outside the philosophers' realm in the political poetry of John Gower (ca. 1330–1408) and Thomas Hoccleve (ca. 1368–1426).¹⁶ We will return to the more philosophical and theological uses of the concept and the role of the *populus* in chapter seven below.

Around the turn of this century studies of the medieval popular religious behavior began to focus more on the varieties of that experience to shed light on the participants.¹⁷ Examples of those being most studied, and more relevant to this study, include saints' cults; participation in public, collective liturgies; pilgrimage; and attendance at sermons. According to Gary Dickson, a neglected aspect has been that of what he terms "revivalism," or collective religious enthusiasm, with the key aspect being that of "enthusiasm." Dickson acknowledges the pioneering work on these various religious activities by scholars such as Grundmann, Alphan  ry, Delaruelle, Manselli, and Reeves, but notes their lack of attention to revivalism per se.¹⁸ For him, the concept refers to "a pattern of behaviours embracing episodes of public, collective religious enthusiasm," some of which involved conversion experiences or the promulgation of prophecy, and may or may not have been accompanied by reports of miracles.¹⁹ These phenomena often occurred in response to events or widespread social crises associated with disease, war, and famine.²⁰ Sometimes they were initiated by the clergy, as in the preaching of moral reform or the crusades, or to promote the building of a new cathedral. They were "popular" because they "attracted adher-

¹⁶ *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Cohn (2004), 110–11; 115–16.

¹⁷ For an overview of key aspects of that literature, see Dickson, "Revivalism as a Medieval Religious Genre" (2000). Also, see Biller, "Popular Religion in the Central and Later Middle Ages" (2002).

¹⁸ Dickson, "Revivalism as a Medieval Religious Genre" (2000), 474.

¹⁹ Dickson, "Revivalism as a Medieval Religious Genre" (2000), 477.

²⁰ On this topic, see especially Christoph Maier, "Crisis, Liturgy, and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries" (1997).

ents across the medieval social spectrum typified by that somewhat suspect phenomenon, the mixed crowd.”²¹

Another way in which the medieval world might find a common bond that cut across social or class distinctions, or even tried to mold them into a Christian faithful composed of both lay and secular elements, is found in transforming the simple *populus* to ‘*populus Christianus*.’ In other words, as ‘the Church’ defined its missions against the ‘others’ it struggled to create an identity—the Christian people as a community of Christians, the land of the Christians as ‘Christendom.’²² Even with this inference that the term *populus* refers to the Christian community inclusive of the common people, modern scholarship continues entangled within a debate over the question of the nature of medieval culture. Thirty years ago John Van Engen provided an overview of some of the most prominent work of the second half of the twentieth century that focused on the spread of ecclesiastical reform and the development of lay countercultural groups.²³ The conflict has often centered on the issue of how great a distinction might be made between lay and clerical components, or the culture of the literate elite versus that of the non- or less literate in medieval society. Jacques Le Goff argued that there was a distinct religious culture among the ‘people,’ and he, along with Jean-Claude Schmitt offered that there were two distinct cultures, “one clerical and bookish, the other popular, oral and customary; the first accessible through traditional intellectual and spiritual categories, the second mainly through cultural anthropology and comparative religions.”²⁴

Continuing to draw the cultural lines by means of education and religious practices, some have tried to distinguish a “high culture” from a “low,”²⁵ yet most have moved toward a more inclusive view. Building on the studies of Peter Brown on late antiquity, Aron Gurevich sees more of a patchwork culture of interwoven threads among the elements as opposed to any clear demarca-

21 Dickson, “Revivalism as a Medieval Genre” (2000), 478; emphasis mine.

22 Bartlett, *The Making of Europe* (1993), 250–52, for elaboration on the community of Christians as Christendom.

23 Van Engen, “The Christian Middle Ages” (1986).

24 Van Engen, “The Christian Middle Ages” (1986), 529–31. Representative of their work are Schmitt, *The Holy Greyhound* (1983); and, Le Goff, *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages* (1980).

25 For various aspects of the ongoing discussion see Etienne Delaruelle, *La piété populaire au Moyen Age* (1975); Le Goff, *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages* (1980); Herbert Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture* (1999); Davis, “Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion” (1974); Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 12–13; and, Watkins, “‘Folklore’ and ‘Popular Religion’” (2004). For a brief review of the historiography until the mid-1990s, see Biller, “Popular Religion in the Central and Later Middle Ages” (2002).

tion.²⁶ Van Engen concluded that medieval Christian culture is best understood as a complex and diverse spectrum of elements rather than as “two radically different religious cultures.”²⁷ Brian Stock added the reminder that the persistence of the oral traditions throughout the Middle Ages should warn scholars not to jump to any simple delimitations between “low” and “high,” or “popular” and “learned,” especially since those of the medieval era who gave these issues any thought were themselves the educated *litterati*.²⁸ At best then these scholars only provide hints on the question of whether a diverse culture should be considered the ‘public,’ or regarded as equivalent to the *populus* in the medieval context. Nor did the French *Annales* School of historians help much with its approach to the study of *mentalités* within the context of popular culture and opinion, because of the difficulties of definition and measurement of such a subjective concept.²⁹

Ultimately, neither the medieval sources nor the modern analyses resolve the matter of definition clearly. Often, only by inference, it is the ‘masses’ of lay society that seem intended in the references to the *populus*. Traditionally, scholars have also acknowledged a ‘clerical culture’ in association with culture as a form of intellectual life, and have argued that the clerical stood apart from the popular culture.³⁰ By the 1990s, ‘clerical’ assumed a more repressive and misogynist connotation.³¹ Most recently, however, Maureen Miller has attempted to restore a more positive sense by referring to the ‘clerical culture’ as the “particular way of life of the clergy.”³² Her study centers on the diversity of both lay and clerical components of the culture in order to offset simplistic dichotomies that have been drawn in the past. Colin Morris took a broad perspective in challenging the view that since cultural communications were dictated by the clergy they

26 Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture* (1988), esp. 211–25; Brown, *Society and the Holy* (1982). Also see, Alan Bernstein, “Teaching and Preaching Confession” (1998); and, Carolyn Bynum, “Wonder” (1997).

27 Van Engen, “The Christian Middle Ages” (1986), 532.

28 Stock, “Medieval Literacy” (1984), 16.

29 For an overview of the scholars who fit into this category such as Duby, Gurevich, Schmitt, and Geremek, see Tinsley, “Mentalities in Medieval Culture,” *Handbook of Medieval Studies* (2010), vol. 1: 875–79. In addition to the work of Gurevich cited above, see Geremek, *The Margins of Society* (1987); Duby, *The Three Orders* (1980); and, Schmitt, “‘Religion populaire’ et culture folklorique” (1976). Also, see the collection of articles in *Popular Belief and Practice* (1972), ed. Cumming and Baker, esp. Murray, “Piety and Impiety in Thirteenth-Century Italy.”

30 For example, Le Goff, “Culture cléricale et traditions folkloriques” (1967).

31 Noble, *A World Without Women* (1992); and Elliot, *Fallen Bodies* (1999).

32 Miller, “Religion Makes a Difference” (2000), 1096.

did not really reach out to the ‘people,’ meaning the lay masses.³³ By analyzing the means to communicate and the audiences for those communications, Morris noted that in fact there were many vehicles—cults, songs, stories, and especially sermons—that reached out and cut across rigid lines of demarcation. Sermons were the most popular, but Morris cited two French songs to illustrate his point that song was likely the next most popular way to reach a broad audience. He also called attention to examples of what he termed “mass behavior and mass persuasion,”³⁴ including the Peace and Truce of God, the Gregorian reform, and the crusades.

Without any contextualization, André Vauchez has argued that as the crusades were being declared, ‘the masses’ emerged from passivity and came onto the scene of history in response to the summons of ‘the Church.’ It marked the birth of Western Christianity, and for the “first time, European populations [...] became aware of their own unity over ethnic particularities and joined together in a common enterprise.³⁵ From this late eleventh-century origin, Vauchez builds upon this concept of an emerging sense of Western Christianity to argue that the proselytization of a just and holy war provided the “masses, unenlightened but animated by ardent religious zeal” with a justification for unity, and from “this vigorous human mass, the Church attempted to make a people, the people of God.”³⁶ Vauchez acknowledges that this constructed sense of unity was more mythical than real. Nonetheless he asserts that the ongoing positive response to the call to crusade is evidence that it was believed by the masses. Though most scholars seem ready to accept the notion of a high degree of religious enthusiasm in the period, the degree to which the response to the crusades was uniform and deserving of the descriptor ‘massive,’ or that the use of the term ‘masses’ is at all meaningful, remains contested.

In her discussion of the notion of the ‘public’ in Habermas, Agnes Ku has objected to the term “mass” on the grounds that it “represses the possibility of human agency, and hence is incapable of conceiving the complicated political and cultural processes at work in the multiplicity of discursive practices.”³⁷ I concur, but also believe that the accumulating references to crowds and other euphemisms for large numbers of people coming to witness relic displays or hear crusade sermons does substantiate the growing interest in the potential power of the common people. Guy Fourquin, though not directly contesting Vau-

³³ Morris, *Medieval Media* (1972).

³⁴ Morris, *Medieval Media* (1972), 15.

³⁵ Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages* (1993), 48.

³⁶ Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages* (1993), 48.

³⁷ Ku, “Revisiting the Notion of ‘Public’ in Habermas’s Theory” (2000), 223.

chez, urges caution in the use of the term ‘masses’ because of the difficulty that the sources present regarding numbers in almost any calculation of participation in any events, from crusades to popular rebellions in the fourteenth century.³⁸ His objection is also ideological in the sense that “the day of the masses will come only with the destruction of the societies of orders. Before then the masses did not really exist, for individuals had well-defined stations and had not yet been ‘equalized’.”³⁹ The orders to which he refers are those of the tripartite society emerging in the medieval consciousness of the eleventh century.⁴⁰ Fourquin is in agreement with Vauchez as to the idea of a body politic developing with a unity based on membership in the Christian faith, but they do not accept the idea of the ‘masses’ as a significant recognizable political component. Moreover, to be fair to Vauchez, even though he argues for the emergence of a sense of identity among “the masses,” he does not seem yet to give them political agency.

More recent scholarship on dissent, religious enthusiasm and communication seems to assume a similar general notion of the medieval public.⁴¹ For R. I. Moore, in the era of church reform:

[...] one thing was never in doubt. At every stage their demands were supported by the ‘faithful people’—in other words the force of popular opinion backed by the threat, sometimes the reality, of popular action.⁴²

For Dickson, religious enthusiasm was marked by crowds, yes the *vulgus*, the multitude, with “their populist character, their unexpected inclusiveness,” but also “George Duby’s mixed crowd [...] from the era of the *Pax et Treuga Dei* onwards ... catalogues of opposites—men and women, young and old, rich and poor, knights and peasants, etc.” appears in the accounts of chroniclers of religious revivals marking the events of Peace and crusade councils or relic displays.⁴³ Dickson points out that recent studies of the medieval crowd are at

38 Fourquin, *The Anatomy of Popular Rebellion* (1978), 163.

39 Fourquin, *The Anatomy of Popular Rebellion* (1978), 163.

40 On the classical construct of the three orders (*bellatores, oratores, laboratores*), see Duby, *The Three Orders* (1980); and Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (1995), 251–260, who reveals the degree to which the Middle Ages was concerned with issues of social classification, and how the classic concept of the three has been oversimplified and undermines the richness of the medieval concern over ‘order.’

41 For example, Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 3, commenting on Alcuin’s condemnation of the maxim *vox populi, vox Dei*, noted that Alcuin “also adduced that the people had to be led,” and further on, in the later battle for public opinion, “The institutional use of propaganda by the state and the Church thus assumed a massive scope.”

42 Moore, *The First European Revolution* (2000), 14.

43 Dickson, *Religious Enthusiasm in the Medieval West* (2000), 3.

odds with the modern more negative demonized connotation of the crowd that emphasizes its irrational or menacing potential. Instead, in Matthew Paris and Roger Bacon, for example, he finds an attempt to understand crowd psychology in order to better guide those who may try to persuade crowds for positive actions, such as going on a crusade or raising funds for a building project.⁴⁴

Brian Stock's concept of the "textual community" provides reinforcement as he argues what was essential as groups of listeners, readers, and interpreters began to come together after the turn of the millennium. These communities could be large or small, but they had to have "text, interpreter, and a public."⁴⁵ The "text" here did not have to be written for the community to be successfully formed, as in the case of Pierre Valdes of Lyon who memorized his message and communicated it by word of mouth. Nor did the public have to be fully literate or have anything in common (e.g., social origins) before it became united around common objectives. Instead of the decline of ritual with the rise of literacy these textual communities led to new rituals of everyday life (e.g., monastic rules, lay confraternities, searches for civic equality in the formation of communes). Thus, as Stock states, "Heretics, reformers, pilgrims, crusaders, and proponents of communes, and even university intellectuals began to define the norms of their behavior, to seek meaning and values over time, and to attempt to locate individual experience within larger schemata."⁴⁶ Raymond Cazelles, in his study of noble politics in the fourteenth century, continued to argue that opinion was an important consideration for the kings even though it might be a "diffuse element, subterranean, poorly expressed [...] difficult and delicate to read." Support for this assertion is found in the efforts made by kings and nobles to influence opinion through propaganda, and from the reports to the King's Council from baillies and seneschals about the drift of opinion in their districts.⁴⁷ This evolution toward collectivities (publics), and the recognition of the potential value of their impact on political decisions that affect greater numbers of the population across Christendom, is the focus of this study. Scholars also continue to debate the outcomes of the evolution of the concept of the public. Was there a common culture, a public culture, or did it remain divided along fault lines of literacy? In his attempt to determine whether there was a "world view" of the common people who did not know Latin, Gurevich argued

⁴⁴ Dickson, "Medieval Christian Crowds and the Origins of Crowd Psychology" (2000).

⁴⁵ Stock, "Medieval Literacy" (1984), 18; emphasis mine. Also, see Stock, *The Implications of Literacy* (1983), ch. II, for a more complete discussion of textual communities with contemporary examples.

⁴⁶ Stock, "Medieval Literacy" (1984), 18.

⁴⁷ Cazelles, *Société politique noblesse et couronne* (1982), 3–4; quote at 3.

that in their attempt to reach the common people the clergy had to resort to the use of the vernacular languages and dialects. In so doing, the media of the sermon, miracle and vision stories and saints' lives became crucial. Moreover, in the creation of a "parish literature" Gurevich maintained that in order to gain control of the spiritual lives of the parishioners "these works could not help but reflect certain significant aspects of folk religiosity and the popular world-view."⁴⁸

Building on these assumptions, Gurevich traced examples from Caesarius of Arles (d. 542) to Caesarius of Heisterbach (ca. 1180–ca. 1240) and argued that one cannot understand the spiritual life of medieval society without its folklore tradition that was embedded among the common people and which remained "fairly immobile" throughout the era. Most importantly for this study is Gurevich's conclusion that even the dynamics of change within the social hierarchy did not greatly alter "deeply rooted mental habits [...] shared by all strata of society, not just its lowest levels."⁴⁹ Thus, sermons, hagiography, miracle stories, penitentials, and catechisms revealed the issues of religion and the moral problems that formed the basis for a common understanding at the basis of a public culture that served all elements of society.⁵⁰ Within the dynamics of change in the post-millennium medieval culture we perceive an emerging sense of the importance of earthly life. In debating its "best form" the laity challenged the clerical view, as did the regular clergy oppose the monastic, and the elite the non-elite. As well, the lines between public and private were perpetually shifting. However, underlying this constant pressure between the public sphere and the base culture was a public hostility to cultural difference. It is in this sense that we might speak of a public culture. To be effective in dealing with political issues within that culture one had to understand its roots.

Most recently, ongoing attempts by medieval scholars to respond to the challenge of Jürgen Habermas reveal a range of fundamental issues, even to the point of debating whether one can distinguish between public and private in the medieval context of a feudal society.⁵¹ Was the "public" only a theoretical ideal or did it exist in practice? Did it have a "space" in which to function? Was that defined materially as in a town square or a building or was it only in the minds of

⁴⁸ Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture* (1988), 2.

⁴⁹ Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture* (1988), 11.

⁵⁰ For a definition of late medieval popular culture as one embracing "virtually everything that makes human life human," see Mullet, *Popular Culture and Popular Protest* (1987), 7.

⁵¹ See, for example, the introduction to *L'espace public au Moyen Âge*, ed. Boucheron and Offenstadt (2011), 1–21.

those debating the issues or criticizing the powers that be?⁵² These issues are not resolved and perhaps cannot be.

In this study, I draw no ideological boundaries in illustrating the various uses of the general descriptor terms *populus* or “crowd” or “large numbers of people.” Instead, the point is that these references are appearing more frequently, and drawing attention to a new phenomenon that evidences the potential power of forces represented by these terms.⁵³ Evidence for the growth of ‘masses’ or crowds in the medieval context is more likely to be found in the changes made in the creation and use of public spaces, such as the rapid expansion in the building of larger churches to accommodate the increasing number of pilgrims or in the use of public squares to accommodate overflow audiences for sermons or various entertaining dramas in churches.

Therefore, unless otherwise differentiated, the ‘public’ or ‘*populus*’ will refer to a broad cross-section of people, not only the laity and not only the common people.⁵⁴ Because the attempts to arouse support for various public political causes were aimed at both clergy and laity, elite and non-elite members of society, it is assumed that a clear distinction was not always made by the medieval communicators and the ambiguity of the term was accepted then and cannot be clarified now. Sometimes, however, instead of a singular amorphous public, conceiving ‘publics’ or sub-sets of ‘the public’ was a better way to deal with the circumstance in which influence was being negotiated. In other words, the same objective could not always be obtained with the same language to all elements of the public. Thus, sermons on the crusade may not have been preached the

52 *L'espace public au Moyen Âge*, 5. Also, see the following articles in *L'espace public au Moyen Âge*: (1) on “public space” and public places,” Boucheron, “Espace public et lieux publics,” 99–117; (2) re. the meaning of “Offentlichkeit,” see Joseph Morsel, “Communication et domination sociale en Franconie à la fin du Moyen Âge,” 353–65; and (3) for a more detailed discussion of the response by German scholars on the possible application of Habermas to the Middle Ages, see Offenstadt, “Le Moyen Âge de Jürgen Habermas,” 77–98. For a brief macro-historical overview of these issues in the study of “culture,” see LaCapra, “Is Everyone a *Mentalité* Case?” (1984). For an engaging discussion regarding how one might draw upon Habermas to illuminate how communication was a key element for medieval poets and how it helped shape a form of public culture, see Classen, *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung* (2002).

53 See, for example, the conclusions of Claude Gauvard on the disquieting powers of the “petit peuple” as perceived by the elites, and the role played by the *populus* in balancing the social equilibrium in *Le petit peuple*, ed. Baglioni, et al. (2002), 720–21.

54 Head and Landes, in their introduction to *The Peace of God*, 2, n. 3, chose to limit the term *populus* to “all those free laypeople of relatively low social status whom we might call commoners, that is, to wealthy merchants and impoverished peasants alike.” They seem to base this on the work of Bautier, “‘Popularis’ et la notion de ‘populaire’” (1975), which may be too limiting in a number of the major events discussed in the following chapters.

same to a lay audience as to a clerical, even though the objective was to influence the ‘public’ to support it. Similarly, the crusade message to the laity in Germany may not have the same core thrust as that to the French knights in the Midi.

Finally, I will argue that the medieval notion of the public like that of the modern was dynamic, not static, and thus ambiguity was an asset not a liability as those who contested the public sphere shaped and reshaped their messages. In many ways, the medieval public was like that of Walter Lippmann’s “phantom public.” A real mass public made up of the common people who were interested in a particular issue and could exercise legitimate political power did not exist. Instead the ‘public’ was constructed by those who wished to influence a climate of opinion and therefore wished to define the public according to the needs of the situation. At the same time the medieval ‘phantom public’ was real in the sense that there always persisted a real fear that the common people who greatly outnumbered the elite would somehow unite and rise up *en masse*.⁵⁵

Public Opinion

In order to better understand public opinion in any era before the modern, we must divest ourselves of the stereotype created by modern polling techniques and surveys that deny any organic nature to its origins, yet still imply that opinion of the masses actually matters in the political process. Public opinion differs in different kinds of societies. Changes in meaning, according to one scholar, can be measured by looking at different metaphors in literature such as “chorus,” “voices from the gods,” or “*populus*.” Moreover, he has argued that “any theory of public opinion can be seen as a metaphor for an experience that cannot be expressed easily in words.”⁵⁶ Our expectations and our methods chosen to measure it are shaped by the media just as it shapes public opinion itself. Public opin-

⁵⁵ See the commentary by Robbins, ed., *The Phantom Public Sphere* (1993), x: “the public” is a “rallying cry against private greed, a demand for attention to the general welfare as against propriety interests [...] if there is some reluctance to see the public melt into thin air, the cause may not be vestigial piety so much as the fear that we cannot do without it.” Ku, “Revisiting the Notion of the ‘Public’” (2000), 223–24, noted that even Habermas made a distinction between an imagined (non-spatialized) and a spatialized public sphere wherein the actual debate among views takes place.

⁵⁶ Back, “Metaphors for Public Opinion in Literature” (1988), 280.

ion is a very complex construct, and Lippmann challenged us to consider whether the idea that all society can be considered like a body with a unity of purpose is a myth.⁵⁷

In the medieval context one way to begin the study of public opinion is to try to answer the question “How did the elites get their subjects to believe what they wanted them to?” In his theory of public opinion Francis Wilson made a fundamental assumption that “The relation of mass-thinking to the exercise of authority is the core of public opinion theory,” and he believed that such a theory is present in all literate societies.⁵⁸ Wilson recognized the gap between the ‘people’ and their governors, and also the anxiety inherent in reaching a consensus on the type of government where the fears of both tyranny and anarchy are ever-present in trying to negotiate the role of the ‘people.’ In that regard, James MacGregor Burns offered a theory of transactional leadership that argues that leaders will try to have impact on opinion because they want to arouse and activate latent attitudes and mold popular wants as they respond to them.⁵⁹ He pointed to three types of opinion leaders that we might observe in medieval society. First, a person with major objectives (ideological, political, etc.) who seeks to mobilize people relative to their own objectives (e.g., one might suggest papal crusade preaching campaigns). Second, there are those who actually control the formal media of communication (e.g., ecclesiastical control of preaching). Finally, there are the “transactional opinion leaders” who personally mediate between the mass media and the mass public (e.g., popular wandering preachers).⁶⁰ In order to bridge the anticipated gap between the opinion leaders and the everyday public it is suggested that there is often a step-wise process whereby the communication from the highly visible leaders may be first transferred to local opinion leaders who in turn are more effective in communicating with the ultimate recipients, that is, the ‘public.’⁶¹

In a more specific examination of this process in medieval society, Thomas Tentler has drawn our attention to components of ongoing research that help us break this complex theoretical query into more manageable components.⁶² First,

57 Lippmann, *The Phantom Public* (1993), 146. For a recent discussion of Lippmann and the related work of Blumer on the idea of public opinion as a fictional construct, see Sullivan, *Media Audiences* (2013). One is reminded of John of Salisbury in this context.

58 Wilson, *A Theory of Public Opinion* (1962), 3.

59 Burns, “Opinion Leadership” (1979), 258.

60 Burns, “Opinion Leadership” (1979), 262.

61 Burns, “Opinion Leadership” (1979), 264.

62 Tentler, “Seventeen Authors in Search of Two Religious Cultures” (1985), a historiographical review of *Faire Croire: Modalités de la diffusion et la réception des messages religieux du XIIe au XIVe siècle* (1981).

there are the “Instruments of Persuasion” (e.g., confession, inquisition, gestures, liturgy, images, books and preaching). Second, the focus is on “Stakes and Objectives” (e.g., defense of orthodoxy or institutions and hierarchies; how the sacred is portrayed in miracles, magic, and sorcery; holy time and space; and, eschatology). Finally, various studies illustrate “Modes of Perception” to a delivered message or set of messages, including assimilation and acculturation, as well as modification or resistance to the original message. In his review Tentler expands on the content of these studies by calling attention to related matters embedded in their individual approaches, including the debate over the two-tiered models of medieval culture that attempts to decipher the nature of the split between its learned clerical and its lay components. Finally, Tentler offers an interesting rephrasing of the three categories in which he breaks down “persuasion” to types he simply calls “hard sell,” “soft sell,” and “intermediate,” or a blend of the other two.

In the category of the “hard sell” Tentler considers “political intrusion into religious life,” of which the methods of inquisition, and later the attempts to suppress witchcraft are examples. To illustrate the “soft sell” he uses “literary and artistic expressions of belief [e.g., hagiography, story-telling and iconography of various sorts] that are designed to persuade indirectly,” and have more of a religious teaching function, but could be turned to political purposes if deemed so useful.⁶³ In his “intermediate” category there are types of persuasion “that stop short of coercion [e.g. confession, preaching, canons], but do not shrink from using threats of punishment or appeals to guilt” in order to achieve their goals.⁶⁴ By calling attention to the symbiotic nature of the relationships among the messages, the audiences, the goals of the medieval messengers, and the choice of approaches available to them, this research serves to underline the perception of the need to pay attention to a variety of publics and their opinions. Such sophistication in the choice of tools indicates a complex public (i.e., realistically not divided simplistically into lay and clerical) that is playing a more important role as the public culture evolves.

Though this seems straightforward, Claude Gauvard has cautioned us to remember the reality of obstacles to clear in order for timely communication to occur in the medieval world. Even within one region such as France there were language differences, travel barriers (it would take about fifteen days to get from Paris to Avignon overland), and issues with the reliability of messen-

⁶³ Tentler, “Seventeen Authors in Search of Two Religious Cultures” (1985), 249.

⁶⁴ Tentler, “Seventeen Authors in Search of Two Religious Cultures” (1985), 249.

gers.⁶⁵ In the case of the political literature (*sirventes*) there was the question of bias as influenced by patronage. Nonetheless, such evidence must be considered.

The research of sociologists argues that the role of public opinion is different in different kinds of societies and thus its perception will be different. For example, in our modern society, especially in the United States, public opinion researchers have selected a method that it is oriented toward the individual. They try to 'add up' the opinions of individuals to reach a consensus of 'public opinion,' and therefore represent a society that values the individual more than the collective. As Kurt Back notes, this results in the use of numbers and "adding up data from individual interviews and calling them public opinion is also a metaphor."⁶⁶ Some modern scholars even argue that public opinion is a construct that has importance as a "persuasive symbol" as opposed to an actual social force.⁶⁷ Thus, even in the modern world 'public opinion' becomes something of a phantom. In the medieval world the opinion of the individual was not so valued as to be measured one-by-one, but it was becoming feared as the mysterious voice of the collective. In the battle for right order in medieval society we see below in this study how the leaders fought over how to construct public opinion as a positive force that led individuals to opt for the goals of the leaders. As the popes contested the apex of the ruling hierarchy with the secular monarchs in order to be seen as both legitimate and the incarnation of public opinion, 'the public' (or perhaps better, various publics), it would seem, was sometimes instinctively wary of being manipulated.⁶⁸

Logically, a phantom public must have a phantom opinion. Ironically, however, we are able to perceive a more specific, concrete expression of opinion in our various medieval sources than one might expect. It is not often direct, as in a poll, but rather more of a response to a perception, or an attempt to persuade a perceived (correctly or wrongly so) 'public' of one sort or another, so in that sense perhaps also a phantom. The key to forming public opinion is communication and interaction among those who may constitute a public. As we study how the message was crafted and communicated, we learn how effective it was by the behavior of those receiving the message. Modern studies of public opinion place a good deal of emphasis on perception and try to understand how

65 Gauvard, "Qu'est-ce que l'opinion avant l'invention de imprimerie?" (1994), 25–26.

66 Back, "Metaphors of Public Opinion in Literature" (1988), 278.

67 *Public Opinion and the Communication of Consent*, ed. Glasser and Salmon (1995), 12–14.

68 For references to the stories of various leaders from the Roman era to Shakespeare's England who went disguised among the people to learn their views, see Back, "Metaphors of Public Opinion in Literature" (1988), 283.

and to what degree it might influence the formation of mass opinion. These studies reveal that in societies where the media has a significant role to play in manipulating opinion, there is a greater chance that the perceived differences between the individual's opinion and that of others may be greater. In contrast, perceptions among members of smaller communities are likely more uniform and more accurately perceived by the individuals within them.⁶⁹

For the medieval world we try to discern opinion by trends in the messages communicating to those smaller 'textual' communities. Menache's study of medieval communication picked up where Morris had left off. Her focus was on "political communication" by which she means "the deliberate passing of a political message by a sender to a receiver, with the intention of making the receiver behave in a way that otherwise he might not do."⁷⁰ This definition fits well with the evidence of preaching, treatises, and letters to influence various audiences to shape their opinions and hopefully their actions. The senders varied (a pope, a bishop, an abbot, or a king or other lay lord), as did the receivers, from individuals of like order to general audiences across all sectors as in the case of sermons. Menache drew upon early twentieth-century studies of communication and public opinion, primarily in the United States, to define three systems of interaction within political communities.⁷¹ These involve the processes of governmental decision-making, opinion submission to decision-makers, and opinion-making wherein ideas are formed and circulated more widely.⁷² Applying these concepts to the medieval period, Menache argued that the process of rapid socio-economic change in the central Middle Ages led to the cultivation of public opinion because there was the need for "competing voices of authority to place their claims for supremacy before the public."⁷³ In support of this thesis she offered several examples of how the Church and the monarchs used various sources and media to wage propaganda campaigns to influence the public, and in the case of heresy to demonstrate how even the margins of society elicited particularly strong reactions and opportunities to manipulate the media. In this study four of the chapters will concentrate on major events that best feature

⁶⁹ Glynn, "Perceptions of Others' Opinion" (1989).

⁷⁰ Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 5; emphasis hers.

⁷¹ For example, Allport, "Toward a Science of Public Opinion," (1937). For a broad overview, see the collection of readings from the American research from about 1930 to 1954 in Katz, ed. *Public Opinion and Propaganda* (1954); and, for the next twenty years, see Pressly, "The Systematic Study of Public Opinion" (1974).

⁷² Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 6. In general, see Haskins, "The Spread of Ideas in the Middle Ages" (1926).

⁷³ Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 5.

the contested public sphere between and among representatives of ‘the Church,’ as well as between the lay and clerical elements, and/or the royal and papal claimants to leadership in that sphere.

Following the publication of Menache’s study, there has been even more attention paid to the ways in which the medieval public functioned and how opinion was solicited and influenced. Leidulf Melve, for example, uses the term public opinion to refer to “the idea of being public.” His analysis traces the politicization of public opinion in the period from 800 to 1200, first as it operated as an abstract entity not directly connected to politics in the ninth century, then to its emergence as a political force in the twelfth.⁷⁴ The ninth-century examples are scattered, such as the case of the penance of Louis the Pious (778–840) that was contested and publicized in connection with various assemblies held to deal with it publicly.⁷⁵ More importantly for the evolution of public opinion as reviewed in this study, Melve also asserts that the influential archbishop Hincmar of Rheims (806–882) “clearly understood the potential political uses of public opinion” as evidenced by his redefinition of the divorce of Lothar (795–855) as a public matter. Apparently Hincmar advised that if a king discovered any *murmur populi* or *turbatio* (disturbance) or *inaequale* (upset) in the realm he should seek its cause because any of these signaled *periculo imminerent* (imminent danger).⁷⁶ Hincmar followed his own advice in choosing to define the divorce as a public matter by using three versions of his memoir to increase its public visibility in such a way as to reveal another key aspect of the concept of the “public,” namely the line to be drawn between matters “private” and those that should be in the “public” domain.⁷⁷

Hincmar’s discussion of the phenomenon of the *murmur populi* calls our attention to what the modern research on public opinion refers to as the “climate of opinion,” or a sense of a collective and shared opinion derived from a social

74 Melve, “‘Even the Very Laymen’” (2013), 26.

75 Melve, “‘Even the Very Laymen’” (2013), 29. Also see De Jong, *The Penitential State* (2009); and Booker, *Past Convictions* (2009).

76 Melve, “‘Even the Very Laymen’” (2013), 29, who refers to Hincmar’s treatise, *De ordine palatii*, ed. Gross and Schneider (1980), 7.626–34.

77 Melve, “‘Even the Very Laymen’,” 3, citing Firey, *A Contrite Heart* (2009), 1, 12, and 37. Also, see Nelson, “The Problematic of the Private” (1990); and, De Jong, “What was *Public* about Public Penance? (1997). Megan, *Sex, Gender, and Episcopal Authority* (2010), most recently calls attention to the “impoverished modern notion of the political” that relies on a traditional oversimplification of “public” and “private” which assumes the former was a political sphere reserved for men, and the latter was the place for women.

process of interaction within a community.⁷⁸ That research bears considering in the examination of the medieval world because it suggests that the climate of opinion is not a fleeting reaction to current events, but that it represents a “rather permanent and subconscious value system of a society.”⁷⁹ Furthermore, the idea that the climate of opinion “exerts social control by applying social pressure on individuals to conform as they seek to attain social approval [...] and avoid social rejection and personal embarrassment,”⁸⁰ seems borne out in more recent studies on medieval heresy. As vague as the concept appears, it may help us account for the appearance of crowds at relic displays or the responses to preaching against heresy or for the crusades as reported by various sources.

By the time we reach the eleventh century and the reform movement, Melve uses the example of Peter Damian (1007–1072) to illustrate the evolution of public opinion toward a more political construct as the urban society began to take off. In that environment the function of gossip played a key role as Damian constructed public opinion to be “the final tribunal that passes ‘judgment on you’.”⁸¹ Private behavior of the enemy, as in the case of Damian’s attack on the anti-pope Cadalus, became the fodder of the *vox populi*, “invested with the power to make public what hitherto was unheard of.” Removed from the secret private world of the individual, Cadalus’s behavior was “placed instead firmly in front of a public tribunal made up of several social groups that were bound together through their participation in public spheres.”⁸² Regarding the matter of whether the public was to play an elevated role in the future of political decisions, Damian was ambivalent. On the one hand it was necessary in particular circumstances to exploit and manipulate it. On the other, he saw public opinion as the mere ruminations of “rustics and fools.”⁸³ Somehow, this seems modern; however, there is still much need to avoid the anachronistic use of the term and to further illustrate its function in various medieval public arenas over time.

78 See, for the example, Shamir, *The Anatomy of Public Opinion* (2000), esp. ch. 4: “The Climate of Opinion.” Also, Lazarsfeld, “Public Opinion Research” (1972).

79 Lazarsfeld, “Public Opinion Research” (1972), 306–07. Charles Tilly’s study of collective action raised a basic question regarding the nature of public opinion, namely does it represent the sum total of the ideas of individuals upon a given subject, or is it more a “mood or emotion that suffuses within a society [climate of opinion]” and rises to the surface in a variety of ways and maintains a life of its own regardless of what individuals think about it. On this, see Bogardus, “Public Opinion and Collective Behavior: A Comment on Charles Tilly’s ‘Speaking Your Mind’” (1983), 488.

80 Shamir, *Anatomy of Opinion* (2000), 69.

81 Melve, “Even the Very Laymen” (2013), 32.

82 Melve, “Even the Very Laymen” (2013), 32.

83 Melve, “Even the Very Laymen” (2013), 33.

Even though as early as 1965 more than fifty definitions had been identified, a number of studies of modern public opinion may be helpful in this analysis.⁸⁴ For example, *The Anatomy of Public Opinion* by Jacob and Michal Shamir and Slavko Splichal's *Public Opinion: Developments and Controversies in the Twentieth Century* provides excellent overviews of the research as well as insight regarding some of the more interesting and controversial issues.⁸⁵ As noted in our discussion of Menache, the research has moved beyond the framework of political science that more often determined its focus in the early twentieth century. Historians and scholars of communication have broadened the field. As well, in his review of the literature, Splichal takes note of the work of Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann and her construct of the "spiral of silence," which he identifies as the "first integrated model of public opinion formation in the empirical sociological tradition."⁸⁶ Starting with the reality that "society threatens deviant individuals with isolation," Noelle-Neumann argued that in any society individuals fear this isolation, and that this fear leads them to "assess the climate of opinion." Often the process for many results in silence which allows mass opinion to gain momentum with less or no opposition at all.⁸⁷

This view is similar to that published earlier by another sociologist, Tamotsu Shibutani, who accepted Dewey's conclusion that a "public" is made up of "people who regard themselves as likely to be involved in the consequences of an event and are sufficiently concerned to interest themselves in the possibility of control."⁸⁸ Shibutani approached this opinion-making situation with a proactive view that allowed for a more positive set of outcomes of the influence of public opinion, but both he and Noelle-Neumann envisioned a public being made up of those who see themselves as likely to be affected, and therefore perceived the need to assess their roles in the formation of "public opinion." I would add that those who seek to influence the public have to determine the audience most likely to be affected as they seek to persuade it toward any collective of 'public opinion' accepted by a majority.

⁸⁴ Van Ginneken, *Collective Behavior and Public Opinion* (2003), 8.

⁸⁵ Shamir, *Anatomy of Public Opinion* (2000); Slavko Splichal, *Public Opinion* (1999).

⁸⁶ Splichal, *Public Opinion* (1999), 169, n. 9; Noelle-Neumann, *The Spiral of Silence* (1999). The Shamirs seem to accept this in noting that speaking out to disclose and share opinions may threaten one's social relations and standing within a community (Shamir, *Anatomy of Public Opinion* [2000], 69).

⁸⁷ Noelle-Neumann, *Spiral of Silence* (1999), 171.

⁸⁸ Shibutani, *Improvised News* (1966), 38; referring to John Dewey, *The Public and its Problems* (1927).

James Best compared various modern approaches to public opinion and the process of opinion formation. He observed that psychologists see opinion as a basic function of individuals that enables them to cope with the society around them, whereas sociologists tend to focus on the creation of public opinion as the end product of a process of interaction within ‘publics,’ and political scientists more often focus on the role of public opinion in the process of policy-making, and usually do this in the context of a democracy.⁸⁹ He argues that the interaction of individuals makes it difficult to arrive at a consensus opinion; instead we must see public opinion as a dynamic interaction of the individual in mass phenomena (crowds, assemblies, councils) wherein individual central or core beliefs are more likely to determine the outcome.⁹⁰ David Chaney’s study of the process of mass communication placed more emphasis on the role of opinion leaders who have greater social status and accessibility to relevant information which enables them to “guide” opinion through the available media.⁹¹

In the chapters below we will see medieval parallels to these modern studies in the Church’s pursuit of heretics and in its attempts to persuade the faithful to crusade. As we suggest how public opinion could be a part of the larger social system, the view of the Shamirs that public opinion “mediates and accommodates social integration and social change” will be useful in the examination of the medieval Peace and reform movements.⁹²

In what follows, certain assumptions about public opinion based on modern scholarship will help to moderate the use of the term. First, public opinion is so complex that there is still no generally accepted definition. Second, however, there does seem to be a consensus about a number of aspects that will be applied in this study. These include its dynamic nature, and even in the day of modern polling techniques, the difficulty of its measurement. Third, public opinion exists whether we measure it or not. It is volatile and there are numerous publics, not one mass public to consider in assessing its nature and its impact in any historical period. Finally, in trying to track public opinion it is good practice to follow the process of communication that identifies the senders and receivers of messages that attempt to influence action by larger numbers of the *populus*.

The study of major events provides the opportunity to gauge ‘public opinion’ by the sources that acknowledge a set of attitudes or opinions that appear to be either in favor or in opposition to a desired action, and offer arguments to persuade others to change their minds. The public will be considered a broad cross-

⁸⁹ Best, *Public Opinion* (1973), 2.

⁹⁰ Best, *Public Opinion* (1973), 2–3 and 8.

⁹¹ Chaney, *Processes of Mass Communication* (1972), 15–20.

⁹² Shamir, *Anatomy of Public Opinion* (2000), 2–3.

section of people that various communicators try to reach, but the collective opinion may be only assessed in terms of the behavior of that public as opposed to a collective statement. It is assumed that any wholesale unity of public opinion was not ever possible. As in today's world of polls, we often measure a diversity of opinion in percentages of those in favor or against something, and even those with 'no opinion' are noted. In the medieval sources we will find that someone more often constructs the opinion, as in the case of the spread of heresy, or the opposition to crusading, and suggests ways to combat it or reinforce it, and then define it as the *vox populi* or the *vox Dei*. Whether the individual in truth based this construct on some reasonable measures of the opinion of others in a network of informants, gossip and rumor, a combination of all of these, or it is simply made up of whole cloth, we can only surmise. In this sense we have a phantom public opinion; yet, the phantom is acted upon as if it were real.

Propaganda

In this study there underlies a struggle for power that required a greater and greater public use of propaganda to influence supporters of one side or another. Beginning with the Investiture Contest between the popes and the monarchs of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries some modern scholars have seen a "massive" use of propaganda by the "state" and the "Church."⁹³ Propaganda was no doubt as important in the process of secular state-building as it was in the efforts of various popes to craft a central papal monarchy and support campaigns against heresy and for a crusade. Before we examine those efforts, however, it is necessary to look at the nature of the term propaganda and how it might apply in the medieval context.

Propaganda, like public opinion, has been studied over and over again, and not only in the modern context. It is perceived as a key vehicle in the circulation and shaping of ideas. However, disagreements over definition still exist. From 1920 on in the United States various schools of thought have tended to prevail, such as the psychological that defined "propaganda" as a "manipulation of psychological symbols having goals of which the listener is not conscious."⁹⁴ Part of the ongoing dispute is attributed to the negative connotations of the term surrounding the rush to study the nature and influence of Nazi propaganda issued

⁹³ Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 3; *passim*. Unfortunately, the terms "state" and Church" imply monolithic structures that did not exist, and in a number of studies that she cites are often used without further qualification.

⁹⁴ Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), xi. What follows will rely heavily on Ellul's approach.

during World War II that came to be regarded as evil. In addition to this moral judgment, propaganda was often observed to be made up of false stories told by liars.⁹⁵ Here is not the place to review the research in detail or to survey the various definitions. Instead, because of the dynamics of change and the various tools of propaganda, and, using the work of Jacques Ellul, I will focus on the application of various aspects of that research to the nature and use of propaganda in the evolution of the medieval public culture during the era under discussion.

Ellul's approach to propaganda assumes general principles and actions that are common to any culture. However, he eschewed any definition, electing instead to "to observe the nature of propaganda wherever it is applied and wherever it is dominated by a concern for effectiveness."⁹⁶ Thus, he analyzed propaganda in its broadest sense, noting first that it involves psychological action to modify opinions. This can occur in a positive or a negative sense, or even a complex mix, as in the attempt to persuade knights to launch a crusade which involved creating a negative image of the enemy in order to achieve a positive gain for both the Christian society and the individual warrior. Second, in order to undermine an enemy's sense of the validity of his own beliefs, psychological warfare is employed, as in the case of the public debates with theological dissenters in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Third, there can be an attempt to re-educate and brainwash a captive, as in the case of an accused heretic imprisoned while the inquisitor tries to get the individual to recant. Finally, there is the big-picture aspect of propaganda that tries to use various approaches (e.g., medieval symbols and visual arts or the theatre) to address social problems that may prevent individuals from adapting to the dominant culture. In other words, the overall aim of propaganda is to make individuals conform.⁹⁷

Modern scholars of the medieval world tend to use the term in a very general way like Ellul, and do not attempt to define it. Earliest perhaps was Palmer Throop who studied the propaganda issued by the popes in an attempt to maintain the crusade effort.⁹⁸ Although his study established a measurable relationship between various treatises and papal bulls and sermons as "propaganda" and the crusading policy of the papacy, Throop did not attempt to offer a definition or a theory of how it came to influence the public.⁹⁹ Menache, in her intro-

⁹⁵ Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), x.

⁹⁶ Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), xiii.

⁹⁷ Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), xiii.

⁹⁸ Palmer Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940).

⁹⁹ Studies of medieval rhetoric are suggestive, but not conclusive regarding various medieval media as instruments

duction to *The Vox Dei*, which is the most sweeping study of the means of medieval communication,¹⁰⁰ observed how the growth of medieval towns opened the “most fruitful arena for legitimizing a new order while encouraging the use of propaganda and the manipulation of popular opinion in its modern sense, though by more primitive means.”¹⁰¹ The expansion of the population drew more individuals from the countryside into towns where they became ‘free,’ but also separated them from their traditional support groups and made them more vulnerable to propaganda. Later, in dealing with attempts to control the Peace movement, she states that:

Against the mostly passive or theoretical identification pursued by modern propaganda, the degree of reception of the Church’s message was immediately translated into actual practice, thus narrowing the gap between the propaganda’s success and the historical process.¹⁰²

In her chapter on the crusades Menache sees one of the earliest uses of “mass media” wherein “Research into Crusade propaganda further suggests the manipulative use of old concepts and stereotypes enlisted in the service of the Vicar of God on earth.”¹⁰³ More recently, Kathleen Cushing has noted that the most persuasive rhetoric in the eleventh-century battle to achieve acceptance of reform “was in polemic and propaganda, whether in the forms of letters, treatises or, especially, hagiography.”¹⁰⁴ Antonia Gransden took a broader look and noted a range within medieval English propaganda that encompassed purposes of eulogy as well as deliberate misrepresentation of facts to support a point of view. Agencies of propaganda included monasteries as well as secular government

of persuasion. James Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (1974), focuses on form more than function and audience. The concepts of propaganda and public opinion are not part of his study although the bibliography does point out some useful earlier related studies. Mendels, *The Media Revolution of Early Christianity* (1999), 3, argued that Eusebius used hysterical language in anti-heretical rhetoric because he knew it would be effective, and was convinced that if Christianity was to fulfill a universal role, it had to spread rapidly and aggressively. Therefore, his use of inflammatory rhetoric was designed to spread the propaganda of Christianity by attracting a wider audience.

100 Most recently, see Classen, “Kommunikation im Mittelalter” (2008); Classen, “Communication in the Middle Ages” (2010); and, Ross, “Communication in the Middle Ages” (2015).

101 Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 7.

102 Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 60.

103 Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 98.

104 Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century* (2005), 112. Also, see Gaiffier, “L’hagiographie et son public au XI^e siècle” (1967); and Leyser, “The Polemics of the Papal Revolution” (1965).

and courtly literature.¹⁰⁵ When we reach the fourteenth century and the Hundred Years' War, John Aberth finds an even more modern connotation for medieval propaganda, which he argues, worked on several levels but had essentially the same effect:

[...] to glorify one's own cause by imbuing it with an almost mystical, religious aura and, at the same time, demonize one's enemies by depicting them as motivated almost entirely by malice and evil. This was the essence of the new nationalism.¹⁰⁶

These studies draw most attention to the means to disseminate one's 'propaganda' rather than to the nature of it. The major weapon is rhetoric, but it has several literary forms that evolve over time. To be effective propaganda should draw upon human relations as manipulated by personal contact.¹⁰⁷ In the medieval world that could be seen in the behavior of the wandering charismatic preachers who were able to project a warm personal presence that was both reassuring and persuasive. Earlier studies have focused on the written forms of treatises, letters, and hagiography. Like Ellul they accept that the aim of propaganda as persuasion to conform forces one to choose one side or another. In the medieval context basically two types of propaganda appear. First, as exemplified by many forms of written works, sermons, and the plastic arts, there was the positive, integrative propaganda directed toward the development of a more unified medieval culture. Second, there was the negative, antagonistic propaganda, most typically characteristic of the treatises and letters of the eleventh-century investiture controversy or the pro- and anti-crusade treatises, sermons, and poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁰⁸ But within these general forms, specific genres of propaganda such as hagiography, visions and prophecies, miracle stories, *exempla*, and fables can be found. In the plastic arts, the sculpture and stained glass of the Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals still remind us of their potential

105 Gransden, "Propaganda in English Medieval Historiography" (1975); Menache, "A Propaganda Campaign in the Reign of Philip the Fair" (1990). For the most recent overall introduction to the scholarship on the rise of medieval propaganda, see Aurell, "Rapport introductif" (2007).

106 Aberth, *From the Brink of the Apocalypse* (2000), 53. Medieval scholars have studied the weaknesses and accomplishments of propaganda in the fourteenth century as well. See, for example, Menache, "Contemporary Attitudes Concerning the Templars' Affair" (1982); and Barber, "Propaganda in the Middle Ages" (1973).

107 Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), 24.

108 For samples of the practical applications of propaganda, see the studies of the sermon polemics against the Waldensians. For example, Kienzle, "Holiness and Obedience" (1998); and Kienzle, "The Prostitute-Preacher" (1998).

powers of influence. Architectural structures themselves became media of propaganda reflecting the power of the ecclesial architects melded with the lay communities to reach higher as they solved complex and costly technical problems to create demonstrations of spiritual and secular unity. Coins, relics, seals, and the crowns of kings or the croziers and rings of bishops became highly utilized forms of propaganda to remind many of their respective places or duties in the medieval universe. Some uses were even publicly protested, such as when the so-called Paper Constitution of 1244 denounced as fraud King Henry III's application of the Great Seal of England to authenticate charters and writs.¹⁰⁹ Relics effectively promoted cults of the saints and attracted pilgrims; coins propagandized the power and authority of the secular monarchs.

Regardless of the form it took, medieval propaganda reflected the cultural dynamic around various issues and regions and a relatively high capacity for flexibility and adaptability. Early examples demonstrated the need to defend and explain the Church against paganism. Later propaganda became less apologetic and promoted Christianity as the preserver of civilization. By the period under review in this study, propaganda became more clearly divided into the two basic types indicated above—positive and integrative, or negative and antagonistic. As well, the manifestations of propaganda became very diverse and much more obviously aware of the issues at stake in the public political sphere. Colin Morris pointed this out in the case of propaganda for the crusades, it “showed a remarkable capacity to spread outside the official program of preaching and it was welcomed by new social groups.”¹¹⁰ Sermons on crusade offered a way to cut across societal lines and allow for a discourse on a common event. A preacher could rouse enthusiasm for a supranational cause, invite an individual personal identity with a means to salvation, and reinforce a common public identity by drawing the lines of battle between Christendom and the ‘other.’ To reach large numbers of the people, the clergy learned to use the ‘mass media’ of the sermon, which in order to be effective had to give the impression of being a personal communication.

In the chapters that follow I will expand on the use of the public assembly, treatises and letters and papal bulls, as well as the oral means of the sermon in

109 For discussion of royal propaganda in later medieval England, see Musson, *Medieval Law in Context* (2001), 223–31, and 24, on the use of the seal in particular.

110 Morris, “Propaganda for War” (1983), 100. For further elaboration on the general overview, see Connell, “Propaganda” (1988). For a discussion of medieval crusade propaganda in the context of theories of communication, as well as a specific case study of the creation and use of propaganda by Bohemond to support his planned 1107 crusade expedition, see Paul, “A Warlord’s Wisdom” (2010).

particular in an attempt to illustrate more carefully how various aspects of propaganda that reflect the major components delineated by Ellul and are deployed as effective propaganda to influence public opinion widely. Moreover, I will consider to what degree other aspects of the public culture such as secular literature and theater might be considered propaganda that helped shape its nature. As literacy was enhanced, a public was created that was more susceptible to propaganda filled with information that could be assimilated.

Throughout this study, the assumption is made that propaganda is essential to the shaping of public opinion and that its arguments are drawn from the climate of opinion that it seeks to reinforce or reshape.¹¹¹ Modern students of public opinion and propaganda operate within a construct of a ‘mass society’ that needs to be manipulated and controlled.¹¹² For Ellul, a mass society is one:

[...] with considerable population density in which local structures and organizations are weak, currents of opinion are strongly felt, men are grouped into large and influential collectives, [...] [and] is characterized by a certain uniformity of material life.¹¹³

This may seem to describe the stereotypical Christian life of the Middle Ages, but that stereotype is quite misleading. Even the self-characterization of medieval society as divided into more or less homogeneous groups of those who fight, those who pray, and those who work, has not held up under the scrutiny of modern medieval scholarship.¹¹⁴ Much of this construct is derived from a reading of various eleventh-century charters, treatises and canons of councils. One of the best examples is provided by the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* (1024–1036). First dealing with the issue of how the Burgundian bishops who began to assert authority that was traditionally assigned to the secular world, the anonymous author reminded his readers of the “two swords” theory wherein the ecclesiastical role in earthly society is to pray and the royal to fight. He went on to report a speech made by his bishop which “showed that the human race had been divided from the beginning into three parts: prayers, farmers, and fighters.”¹¹⁵ Another bishop, Adalbero of Laon (d. ca. 1030), famously argued against the Peace councils being organized by the bishops, and used this discreet func-

¹¹¹ For a more detailed analysis in the modern context, see Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), 33–60.

¹¹² Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), 90.

¹¹³ Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), 93.

¹¹⁴ For the classic analysis of this construct, see Duby, *The Three Orders* (1980). For analysis of Duby’s work on this subject, see the review article by Moore, “Duby’s Eleventh Century” (1984): 36–49.

¹¹⁵ *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* 1024–36, *MGH. SS* (1891), 7:475, 585; trans. Landes, *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 335–37; here 337.

tion of the orders to separate the clergy from the laity as the reform movement moved to achieve independence from secular authority.

This construct of the Three Orders (those who fight, those who pray, those who work) as “backlash” to the novelty and growth of lay enthusiasm and assertion of power by the bishops in traditional secular matters was likely a further indication of awareness of ‘the people.’ It also may have heightened the anxiety that there might be a further disruption of order, which was always a concern in medieval society.¹¹⁶ As Kathleen Cushing suggests, however, one of the most important, and likely unintended, consequences of this attempt to impose order on society resulted in the “making of the people (*populus*) visible, of giving them a role in the public arena.”¹¹⁷ Along with R. I. Moore, even acknowledging the difficulty of defining the “people” or the “crowd” given the variety of names assigned in the various sources, Cushing further asserts that it is clear that “they were seen as separate from the *milites* or knightly class,” and especially that “they were seen as a potent force.”¹¹⁸

During the era from 1050–1250, the so-called “renaissance of the twelfth century,” the means of communication were transformed.¹¹⁹ The growth of secular and ecclesiastical administration and the revival of the urban economy demanded both new methods of record-keeping and propaganda in order to create and disseminate information. As literacy advanced, the complex makeup of each part of the tripartite order was recognized by the *dictatores* of the twelfth century who composed manuals for letter-writing that determined the structure of proper composition. You had to know how to address an individual according to his place in the social structure. So Henry Francigena (fl. ca. 1125) divided the three orders into the “exalted” (i.e., the pope, emperor, kings, archbishops, dukes and “other magnates” of a lesser rank); the “middling” (i.e., priests, soldiers, citizens, townsmen, moneyers [sic], and “others not raised to highest honor nor depressed to the lowest”); and the “bottom” (i.e., peasants, students, retainers and serfs).¹²⁰ This example of defining the ranks and/or the occupational groups within each order was followed widely thereafter. Philippe de

116 For discussion of how Duby approached this issue, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “Georges Duby and the Three Orders” (1986).

117 Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy* (2005), 50.

118 Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy* (2005), 50; and Moore, “Family, Community, and Cult” (1980), 50–51 and 53.

119 For a brief recent overview, see *Convaincre et Persuader Communication* (2007), 12–16. For thoughtful remarks on the “modernity” of the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, see Freedman and Spiegel, “Medievalisms Old and New” (1998), 684–85.

120 Constable, “The Structure of Medieval Society” (1977), 255. Also, see William D. Patt, “The Early *Ars dictaminis* as Response to a Changing Society” (1978).

Vitry, secretary to Philippe VI of Valois, wrote as late as 1335 of an ideal construct wherein “The People, in order to evade the evils which it sees upon it, thus formed itself into three parts. One was formed to pray to God, the second to trade and work the land, and then to keep these two groups from harm and injury, knights were created.”¹²¹

Therefore, despite the elements of a potential unity cutting across socio-economic and folk culture boundaries, in this study I do not make any assumption of a mass society that could have been readily reached by propaganda. I acknowledge the existence of regular references to the “masses” in the sources of the eleventh and twelfth centuries,¹²² but I think these are more indications of a growing awareness of the significance of those who were not part of the elite and were lumped together as a convention of convenience in order to forego a more thoughtful analysis of either the social composition or the actual numbers that made up these groups as they were being recorded.

In addition, the most recent scholarship has come to see a further delineation of medieval society along lines of “little” and “great” communities that sometimes seem to share the same views, but often are tied more to local communities of interest than to any macro-construct of a unified Christendom that is perceived unilaterally the same across diverse folk or territorial boundaries.¹²³ The distinction between the two is most often made along lines of literacy and economics. The “little community” was composed of the agricultural village of serfs and the parish church with local affections tied to patron saint, churchyard, cemetery and priest, while the “great community” of lords based their power on patrilineage and a closer association with the ecclesiastical establishment.¹²⁴ Furthermore, the creation of a separate “little community” widened the gulf between the “little” and the “great” by accentuating the differences between the clergy and the laity, and even within the clergy by elevating the monastic values above the rest. The latter eventually fueled the rise of heresy based on a favoring of a lay life that emulated the *vita apostolica* and the asceticism of the orthodox monastic communities. Thus, even though the early stages of the Peace move-

121 As quoted in Fourquin, *The Anatomy of Popular Rebellion* (1977), 49.

122 See samples of the use of the terms “*populus*” (sometimes translated as “whole people”), as well as “the faithful,” and “*plebs*” (translated as “people”), as well as references to great numbers being assembled in the selection of documents found in *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 328–42.

123 In particular, following the work of Moore, *The First European Revolution* (2000), esp. ch. 2. Also, see his “Literacy and the Making of Heresy, c. 1000–c. 1150” (1994).

124 See the cogent analysis of Moore, *The First European Revolution* (2000), by Peters, “Moore’s Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries” (2006), esp. 22–23.

ment witnessed a temporary alliance between the clergy and *populus* of the “little community,” in the long run it became more difficult to influence individuals who were tied to local groups to join broader causes championed by a king or a pope. Such groups have an organic quality, as Ellul notes, which is tied to idiosyncratic material, spiritual, and emotional qualities that establish a natural barrier to outside influences and propaganda.¹²⁵

Admittedly, this is a tricky terrain to travel. The issue arises, for example, as to whether one can use propaganda to create a temporary mass society for which propaganda becomes effective. Ellul has argued the opposite, namely that “masses in contemporary society have made propaganda possible; in fact propaganda can act only where man’s psychology is influenced by the crowd or the mass to which he belongs.”¹²⁶ Medieval scholars such as those cited above do not take up the issue; instead they seem to assume the effectiveness of the propaganda that they study without always even knowing the precise audience being addressed, much less its size or the scope of its influence. Usually, this is due to the incomplete nature of the medieval sources, but not always. Also, Ellul himself is somewhat slippery in distinguishing a mass group from a mass society as he discusses the necessary conditions for the interaction of propaganda with society to be effective. Sometimes it seems that he believes propaganda can influence a smaller mass or a crowd, and at other times he states that the kind of public opinion to which he refers “cannot exist in a community of fifty or one hundred persons isolated from the outside world (whether it be a monastery or a village of the fifteenth century).”¹²⁷ In the chapters below, I will consider whether the medieval means of communication could overcome such difficulties to create a public and public opinion that both acknowledges Ellul’s limitation, and becomes a much broader “mass” without the modern means of technological communication.

Much of the success of propaganda depends on the perceived authority and prestige of the propagator.¹²⁸ In the medieval events that we focus upon in this study the speakers are often those leaders who are constructed to receive authority from the masses—e.g., kings, dukes, popes, bishops—and to be acting on their behalf for the good of all. As Ellul underlines, “When a man follows the leader, he actually follows the mass, the majority group that the leader so perfectly represents.”¹²⁹ Thus, those delegated to speak for the leader must have

125 Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), 91.

126 Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), 94.

127 Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), 94–96; the quote here at 95.

128 Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), 96.

129 Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), 97.

clearly designated and recognized authority and the message must seem to be consistent with that of the leader. This particularly follows in cases where there is a widespread effort to persuade a widely-constructed public (e.g., the Christian faithful) to adopt a point of view concerning an event widely-perceived to affect that public (e.g., heresy or a crusade).

With the emergence of a more centralized propaganda in medieval society difficulties presented by its decentralized ('feudalized') nature had to be overcome. For propaganda to be effective in shaping public opinion it has to develop an institutional means of communication to present information upon which to form opinions. The dominantly oral nature of communication among the greatest numbers of the population required information and ideas presented to come to grips with uninformed opinion and rumor. That might be done more readily in smaller communities, but not so when confronted with the need to persuade great numbers across the whole of Christendom. Modern studies of rumor emphasize the collective nature of the process of its formation and distribution. Many individuals participate: instigators, interpreters, opinion leaders, apostles and profiteers or resisters, for example.¹³⁰ The wider public is more susceptible to rumor and more likely to use rumor as a source of information because it is more often shut off from the official media in many circumstances. In contrast, the literate elite are more likely to use rumor as a "corrective" or cross reference to the official media, but also more apt to consider rumor to be absurd. Therefore, each rumor is received differently by various components of 'the public.'

Rumor must have been a key factor in the developing medieval public, but unfortunately it remains a relatively little-studied element in this era of medieval society.¹³¹ One of the early advocates for the increased study of the role of rumor (gossip, talk) in the medieval political arena has encouraged wider study of its function in the formation of public opinion with his study highlighting courtly French politics in the fourteenth century.¹³² The era of the Hundred Years' War also drew attention because of the wholesale use of propaganda by both the French and the English to the effect of glorifying one's cause "by imbuing it with an almost mystical, religious aura and, at the same time demonize one's enemies by depicting them as motivated almost entirely by malice and evil."¹³³

130 Kapferer, *Rumors* (1990), 95–97.

131 A recent anthology of articles provides an overview of studies and points out that most come from about 1990 and focus more on the later Middle Ages or on the integration of rumor into literature. See *La Rumeur au Moyen Âge* (2011).

132 Cazelles, *Société politique* (1982).

133 Aberth, *From the Brink of the Apocalypse* (2010), 53. On the role of liturgy in this process in England, see McHardy, "Liturgy and Propaganda" (1982).

Much of that propaganda was aimed at the chivalric elite, but there was propaganda at all levels, and by both the lay and clerical elements of society, which we will examine further in chapter six below. Here we note that in general this propaganda often took “rather astonishing liberties with the truth” that must have built upon rumor in order to embellish deeply felt stereotypes of the English and the French which have carried through until today.¹³⁴

Claude Gauvard has devoted a good amount of his career to the study of rumor and public opinion in the later Middle Ages. He reminds us that even though we may detect its presence we are not likely able to trace its origins and its transmitters. Rumor is “volatile and insatiable,” and it is nourished by various sources, written and oral, words and gestures, all subject to different interpretations.¹³⁵ Gauvard also notes that the term rumor carries a negative connotation, a sense of the “murmur” that signifies sedition, and seems to play out in the scholarly analyses of the pursuit of heresy. However, recent work by Chris Wickham, for example, suggests more complex legal and social roles for medieval rumor and gossip.¹³⁶

There is one other characteristic of public opinion noted by Ellul that seems to provide insight regarding the nature of medieval public opinion as we study several key public events that affected large numbers. He states that:

[...] opinion is formed by a very large number of people who cannot possibly experience the same fact in the same fashion, who judge it by different standards, speak a different language, and share neither the same culture nor the same social position.¹³⁷

In the medieval case, there were “little” and “great” communities whose channels of communication were organized differently and did not necessarily intersect on many issues across Europe. In fact, they were often in conflict as portrayed by Le Goff as an antagonism between the Latin written culture of the clerical hierarchy and the oral folklore traditions of the peasantry.¹³⁸ How

134 Aberth, *From the Brink of the Apocalypse* (2010), 55–56; quote at 55.

135 Gauvard, “Introduction,” *La Rumeur au Moyen Âge* (2011), 23–34; here 24. Also, see his “Rumeur et Stéréotypes à la Fin du Moyen Âge” (1994).

136 Wickham, “Gossip and Resistance” (1998). Also, see Gauvard, “Rumeur et stéréotypes” (1994); and Schofield, “Peasants and the Manor Court” (1998).

137 Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), 101.

138 Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages* (1980), 153–58. Others have argued, however, that the “written word was a small island in a sea of oral literature” (Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture* [1980], 4), and that there was a process of “osmosis” between the oral and the written (Stock, *Implications of Literacy* [1983], 12–87, esp. 80). For applications of such ideas, see Smith, “Oral and Written” (1990), 311.

could they possibly form a ‘public opinion’? Ellul argues that they do in the modern world and could in any era because the propaganda messages that help shape the opinion are provided not with facts but only

[...] abstract symbols that give the facts a shape in which they can serve as a base for public opinion. Public opinion forms itself around attitudes and theoretical problems not clearly related to the actual situation. And the symbols most effective in the formation of public opinion are those most remote from reality. Therefore, public opinion always rests on problems that do not correspond to reality.¹³⁹

I find evidence for this in the case of Urban II’s appeal for the First Crusade, even if, or perhaps because, we allow that the records of that speech may be putting words in his mouth. For example, in some of the accounts of his Clermont address of 1095 the ‘fact’ that Christian pilgrims were being absolutely prohibited from entering Jerusalem and the sites of the Holy Land in 1095, or the idea that the existence of Eastern Christianity was being threatened with total annihilation are not verified by modern scholarship, but those remained powerful symbols nonetheless.

The ongoing existence of small groups in medieval society, tied to local tradition and custom, made the penetration of propaganda difficult. They remained resistant to action outside their group.¹⁴⁰ Therefore the Church had to construct a new system to channel information and to manipulate the symbols necessary for those groups to form public opinion that broke with the local norms.¹⁴¹ It was essential that the secondary opinion find a way to dominate. This was accomplished via the sermon, the medieval equivalent of mass media, by which common propaganda ideas could be promulgated across large numbers of ‘publics,’ that is, both “little” and “great” communities throughout Christendom.

Preaching as the Major Media for Communicating Propaganda and Influencing Opinion

As Sophia Menache stated bluntly over twenty five years ago: “preaching was the most powerful form of communication of the times.”¹⁴² The papal curia knew its

¹³⁹ Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), 101; emphasis his.

¹⁴⁰ Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973), 101–2.

¹⁴¹ Moore, *The War on Heresy* (2012), 142.

¹⁴² Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 21. Also, see Morris, *Medieval Media* (1972), 5, who provided one stimulus to Menache’s work by asking scholars to examine “the nature of mass commu-

importance as reflected in legislation on preaching that specified the times of preaching as well as the skills needed to do it successfully. It also recognized the need to control the medium by delimiting the privilege of preaching mainly to the secular clergy. Originally, this was constructed in order to spread the word of Christianity and to convert the pagans, but in the period under examination here, the demands on preaching had become much more complex. Not only was there the need to continue preaching to educate the faithful, but beginning around 950 preachers were required to promote reform of the monasteries. As we advance through the period, preaching to bolster a broader clerical reform, then against heresy, and then for the crusades was needed. Much of this time, these efforts had to be done simultaneously. Not only did this require more preachers, but more effective preaching to combat the growth of unlicensed popular preachers who challenged the structure and doctrine of the Church itself. More and more the breadth of the audience required preachers to know the mind of their publics better in order to be successful.¹⁴³

To understand better how medieval preachers had to adjust to this dynamic over time, it is necessary to review some key aspects of the relationship between the sermon (message), the preacher (the medium, the messenger), and the audiences (receptors of the message). Scholars, it seems, still differ over the definition of the term sermon. In an effort to overcome the difficulties, Beverly Mayne Kienzle attempted to focus attention on its essential nature with this simple question: “Who says what in which channel to whom with what effect?”¹⁴⁴ In

nication which produced these popular movements (people’s crusades, heresy, preaching, pilgrimage, cults of relics, et al.).”

143 The literature on the sermon and preaching has grown exponentially in the decades since about 1980. For those related to the broader impact of preaching on medieval culture, one might begin with the following representative sample: Gatch, *Preaching in Anglo-Saxon England* (1977); Bataillon, “Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons” (1980); *De Ore Domini*, ed. Amos, Green and Mayne Kienzle (1989); Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades* (1991); Constable, “The Language of Preaching” (1994); D’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars* (1985); *Speculum Sermonis*, ed. Donavin, Nederman, and Utz (2004); *Women Preachers and Prophets*, ed. Kienzle and Walker (1998); *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, ed. Muessig (2002); Muessig, “Sermon, Preacher and Society in the Middle Ages” (2002); Rivers, *Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice* (2010); Thayer, “The Medieval Sermon” (2012); Zajkowski, “Sermons” (2010).

144 *The Sermon*, ed. Kienzle (2000), 150. Each of the major chapters has extensive bibliographical footnotes in addition to the general bibliography compiled by Kienzle. For examples of the German scholarship on preaching and the sermon, see *Predigt im Kontext* (2013), ed. Mertens; Schiewer, “German Sermons in the Middle Ages” (2000); Schiewer, “Universities and Vernacular Preaching: the Case of Vienna, Heidelberg and Basle” (1998); *Die Deutsche Predigt im Mittelalter*, ed. Mertens and Schiewer (1992); Zieleman, “Das Studium der deutschen und niederländischen Predigten des

response she offered a useful definition as follows: “The sermon is essentially an oral discourse, spoken in the voice of a preacher who addresses an audience, to instruct and exhort them on a topic concerned with faith and morals based on a sacred text.”¹⁴⁵ Even though the emphasis here is on oral presentation, in fact, sermons were often written before they were delivered, or encapsulated afterwards and made available for reading. In the era of the friars, even before the invention of printing, sermons became mass-produced and distributed using professional stationers from the University of Paris in a system (*pecia*) that constructed an exemplar and then reproduced it.¹⁴⁶ Recent scholarship indicates that this system was greatly augmented by scribal activity of the friars themselves so that the model sermons were amply available to use orally.¹⁴⁷

To preach one had to have papal authority which was granted rather widely among the ranks of the clergy to bishops, canons, parish priests, some monks, but more likely abbots and even abbesses, most of whom preached within the monasteries or somewhat wider local boundaries. By the thirteenth century, however, the demand for preachers was so great that the right to preach was granted to the mendicant friars, who were more often charged with widespread or universal missions across Christendom and into hostile territories to preach against heresy or for crusades or conversion of the “pagans.” Especially in an oral culture, as the linguist Émile Benveniste put it, a sermon is a discourse with “every utterance assuming a speaker and a hearer, and in the speaker, the intention of influencing the other in some way.”¹⁴⁸ As the nature of the audience became more diverse (i.e., less local, more lay, inclusive of more women, and dissidents) and more populous, listeners demanded more of a role in that discourse.

The mode of the sermon is didactic and hortatory. If the preacher is to move the audience to take action, he or she must find a way to enact the force of the sermon. Modern scholars note more and more how much that success depended on the ability of the preacher to “perform.”¹⁴⁹ To choose the texts of Scripture wisely and adapt them to the topic at hand, the linkage of the two had to be combined with a method of delivery that would inspire the audience to move. By 1200 the demands were so great that Parisian scholars began to develop the

Mittelalters” (1982); Zeffass, *Der Streit um die Laienpredigt* (1974); Schneyer, “Die Laienpredigt im Mittelalter” (1967).

145 *The Sermon*, ed. Kienzle (2000), 151.

146 D’Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons* (2001), 16.

147 D’Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons* (2001), 22–23, 30.

148 Benveniste, *Problems in General Linguistics* (1973), 209; as cited in 151.

149 *The Sermon*, ed. Kienzle (2000), 155–56. Also, see Constable, “The Language of Preaching” (1994).

artes praedicandi in order to facilitate more effective preaching based on both scriptural and classical models.¹⁵⁰ The necessity for these changes had been dictated to a great extent by the preaching of the crusades beginning in 1095, but also by the pressure exerted by popular mendicant preaching among the dissidents and heretics of the twelfth century.

The year 1200 was a pivotal point in many ways for the developing relationship between popular religion and ‘the Church,’ because wandering preachers were so prominent and “almost any kind [...] it would seem, had a chance of winning a following.”¹⁵¹ While the papal-approved preachers before 1200 focused mostly on the end of time and the listeners’ salvation, the preaching of the Cathars, Waldensians and Humiliati turned audience attention more to the issues and conditions of the rapidly expanding urban society. In response, Paris theologians were called upon to develop a plan to train more preachers. Wisely, men such as Alain de Lille (ca. 1128–ca. 1203), Peter the Chanter (d. 1197), Stephen Langton (ca. 1150–1228), Robert de Courçon (ca. 1160–1219), and Jacques de Vitry (ca. 1160/1170–1240) recognized that teaching the clergy speculative theology was not the answer. Therefore, they developed a new approach to training that better recognized the needs of the lay public culture. This included new tools, especially manuals called *artes predicandi* that emphasized the practical aspects of preaching.¹⁵² Although the organization of the sermon did not change much from 1200 to 1500, traditional themes of the sermon had to be redirected.

Typically, a core theme was selected and then divided into sections for elaboration. The *artes praedicandi* gave instructions as to how to construct such a sermon. Some latitude was allowed so long as the preacher provided authorities from Scripture or the Church Fathers to affirm the main points. Following the influence of the return of Aristotle’s logic to the curriculum for educating preachers, rational proofs had to be provided for each point as well. Usually, and depending on the intended audience, *exempla* were recommended to reach each listener and to drive home the moral message as the sermon concluded.¹⁵³ Stephen Langton is credited with introducing the *exempla*, or popular morality

150 *The Sermon*, ed. Kienzle (2000), 157–58. Also, for the roots of the later models of Christian preaching found in both Jewish and Greco-Roman traditions, see James Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (1973), 269–300.

151 D’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars* (1985), 25.

152 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 114. Also, see Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy* (1978), 190–92, for illustrations of the use of the preaching manuals by the friars. Regarding the rhetorical nature of sermons in England, see Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (1993); and more broadly, the studies found in *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Andersson (2008).

153 Thayer, “The Medieval Sermon” (2012), 45.

tales that could be more readily grasped and internalized by the common people with roots in folk culture, while Jacques de Vitry provided a prime example of how to use them in effective preaching.¹⁵⁴ The added value of *exempla* was due to the mental images they employed to aid memory. Both mnemonic and psychological theory help us better understand the role of verbal and pictorial images. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) believed that images of most any kind could aid memory, and Augustine's older view that the power of memory connected to the soul's power of the will and enabled it to move the will still carried weight in the later Middle Ages.¹⁵⁵ After 1200, especially to the lay public, preachers had to address everyday political issues more and more with clear messages that facilitated memory.

To combat heresy and dissidents who were obviously discontent with abuses by the clerical hierarchy required a better education and training of preachers who were mostly drawn from the intellectual elite. Yet, they had to reach larger lay audiences so they had to make adjustments in order to speak in a language that was understandable to the everyday lay person.¹⁵⁶ Use of the vernacular had begun in the twelfth century, but there was still some ambivalence until its wholesale adoption by the mendicant friars to attract and influence larger audiences in the thirteenth century. Often the original texts were in Latin, but preached in the vernacular. By mid-twelfth century, however, more flexibility was apparent. Maurice de Sully (1120–1196), bishop of Paris, dictated sixty-four model sermons in French, while Samson of Bury St. Edmunds (1182–1212) preached in both French and the local Suffolk dialect, as well as in Latin. Vernacular preaching thus required local variations according to what made the message most comprehensible, and it meant simplification rather than rhetorical ornamentation that might cloud the meaning. The audience had a limited attention span; thus, the use of direct language such as “we beg you,” “you have to,” or “you are expected to” would likely be employed to indicate more clearly what the preacher expected from his audience.¹⁵⁷

This quality of audience awareness was key to successful preaching. Audiences then, as now, were not automatically receptive to the voice of the preacher, even though he might have presented himself as the voice of God. One had to recognize, as did Alain de Lille that his listeners came from various ranks of society, including soldiers, notaries, intellectuals, priests, nobles, and women and

154 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 115. On the *exempla* as the transmitters of the emotional depths of medieval culture that reached all levels, see Geremek, “L'exemplum” (1980).

155 Rivers, *Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice* (2010), 187–89.

156 For a concise overview, see Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 22–24.

157 Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 22–23.

maidens in particular. Humbert of Romans (ca. 1190/1200–1277) was able to recognize moods, emotions and life experiences, as well the social backgrounds of his audiences. In order to overcome such diverse distractions it was useful to be able to do as an anonymous Cistercian abbot reportedly did. One day he noticed that his audience was mostly nodding off as he preached, so he suddenly interrupted his prepared text to blurt out, “Once upon a time there was a king named Arthur!” The audience came to life, much to the consternation of the abbot!¹⁵⁸ Ironically, criticism of ‘the Church’ or clerical abuses from the established pulpit was another way to hold audience attention. However, preachers puzzled over why, when they attacked all vices and all lay vice committers (male and female), so many were displeased!¹⁵⁹

Successful preachers have to become part of the community they address. In the medieval world that community was considered to be both temporal and spiritual, with the latter being composed of the Communion of Saints past, present, and future. Jeffrey Burton Russell has claimed that such a sense of community “has seldom if ever been matched in human history.”¹⁶⁰ Moreover, it was achieved alike in the marketplace or a cathedral as individuals were brought together to form a community—a public.

Sermons represent a special form of communication. They are shaped by tradition (classical oratorical techniques), but they change over time and respond to the demands of the context in which they are preached. Thus, the interpretation of sermons raises numerous questions about the degree to which the model for success was followed and with what impact, as well as the degree to which the sermons that have survived reflect the society in which they were performed.¹⁶¹ In her quest for answers, Cynthia Polecristi’s study of Bernardino of Siena concludes that his preaching “did not mirror social reality, but did identify pervasive cultural patterns and the hopes and fears which surrounded them.”¹⁶² I would argue that in the centuries prior to the fifteenth the identification of pervasive patterns in preaching represented an emerging sense of the culture that was cutting across traditional boundaries and opening up to the potential for persuasion.

In response to growing public demand, preaching was becoming more sophisticated and better prepared to play an effective role in shaping medieval cul-

158 Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 23.

159 Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 24.

160 Russell, “Time and Again” (2004), 82.

161 Howard, “Sermons Reflecting Upon Their Worlds” (2004), 182. Further, on issues of interpretation and performance of sermons, see Kienzle, “Conclusion,” *The Sermon* (2000), 965–83; and Thompson, “Retrieving the Medieval Sermon as Event” (2002).

162 Polecristi, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy* (2000), 243.

ture. However, as implied above, the Church could not maintain control of the medium. Monks desired to preach outside the walls and were jealous of the traditional rights of the secular priests in this regard. Wandering lay and clerical preachers became more prominent in the twelfth century, and by comparing the actual or imagined abuses of clerical lifestyle with that of the ideal lived by the original apostles were able to attract large numbers of listeners and/or followers.¹⁶³ The spirituality of the laity was quickened around the year 1000 by apocalyptic anxiety which led many to turn to the *vita apostolica* as the way to their own personal salvation.¹⁶⁴ Monks such as Robert of Arbrissel (ca. 1045–1116) interpreted this to mean that one should lead a life of voluntary poverty while preaching the Gospel. Eccentricity of these individuals added appeal as they attracted large audiences, particularly in southwestern France. This practice was also taken up by laymen, some of whom were prominent lawyers and kings, including most famously perhaps, Robert, King of Naples.¹⁶⁵ However, those such as Pierre Valdes of Lyon, who could not accept clerical authority and regulation, were declared heretics. Many were anonymous, including women. They did not secure papal permission to preach as did the orthodox abbess and mystic Hildegard of Bingen.¹⁶⁶

One key aspect of these and related studies is the way in which they reveal the evolution of the increasing awareness and response to the *populus* and their symbiotic relationship with one another as they contested the public sphere for attention and support.¹⁶⁷ As the friars became the primary itinerant orthodox preachers, they demonstrated a well-developed sensitivity to the audience. In the thirteenth century, as they first emerged and were fewer in number, Bonaventure knew that

163 See, for example, Arnold, "The Preaching of the Cathars" (1998); Thompson, *Revival Preachers and Politics* (1992).

164 For example, the studies collected in *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992).

165 Pryds, "Monarchs, Lawyers, and Saints" (1995).

166 For more detail, see Muessig, "Sermon, Preacher and Society," 80–81. On preaching by women in particular, see Blamires, "Women and Preaching" (1995); and, Brenon, "The Voice of Good Women" (1998); who compares the more important roles of women in the Cathar sect with those of a lesser nature held by Catholic nuns. On the preaching by Hildegard, Kienzle, "Defending the Lord's Vineyard" (1998). Regarding the popularity of wandering preachers and the laity as preachers, see Zeffass, *Der Streit um die Laienpredigt* (1974); Walter, *Die ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs* (1903); Dereine "Les prédicateurs 'apostoliques'" (1983); Buc, "Vox clamantis in deserto?" (1993); Trout, "Preaching by the Laity in the Twelfth Century" (1973); and Kienzle, "Preaching as Touchstone of Orthodoxy and Dissidence in the Middle Ages" (1999).

167 In addition to Kienzle, "Preaching as Touchstone" (1999), see Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (1993); and Hudson, "'Spring cockle in our clene corn'" (1996). For further discussion of the new emphasis on preaching, see Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons* (1979), 44–45.

they should focus on the towns and cities for preaching because the potential audience was greatest and it could be more readily assembled. Humbert of Romans also noted the density of urban settlements and the greater propensity for sin among those dwelling there. This theme of preaching penance had been also clearly articulated by Francis, and the administration of penance was always a duty of the Dominican preachers.¹⁶⁸ By the fourteenth century, as Anne Hudson has argued, the Lollards responded to the mendicant use of *exempla* by adhering strictly to the Bible text itself as their main focus as they preached. Muessig points out that this type of reaction was also found among the mendicant orthodox preachers as they prepared themselves to deal with other popular preachers who centered on the *vita apostolica*.¹⁶⁹ The mendicant movement itself was a direct response to the growing popularity of the wandering lay preachers.

To be successful in this ever-public environment one needed more than a text or a doctrine to preach. One needed to perform well and that required the use of tools to hold the attention of the lay public.¹⁷⁰ Whether a heretic or an orthodox messenger, you had to consider using art or theater to attract a more attentive audience.¹⁷¹ Humbert of Romans, noting the need for good preaching and more of it, offered the following guidelines as the keys to success: (1) keep your sermon short and simple; (2) use biblical commentaries as sources of authority; (3) use *exempla* to better insure attention; (4) adapt your sermon to meet the needs of the listeners; and, (5) lead a good moral life and be well-educated to better insure credibility.¹⁷²

The modern scholarly approach to how this played out is interdisciplinary and borrows from anthropology, ritual, and feminist studies, as well as art and theater in order to “highlight action, space, emotion and sensory dimensions rather than intellectual content of the ritual text.”¹⁷³ Beverly Kienzle, in some of her more recent analysis of medieval preaching has broadened beyond the texts of the sermons to draw from treatises that reveal more about the preacher in action.¹⁷⁴ By the late Middle Ages, as Humbert had acknowledged, sermons could

168 Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy* (1978), 187–89.

169 Muessig, “Sermon, Preacher, and Society” (2002), 83–34.

170 Muessig, “Sermon, Preacher, and Society” (2002), 85–86, for a useful summary.

171 Cigman, “The Preacher as Performer” (1988); Rusconi, “The Preacher Saint in Late Medieval Italian Art” (2002); and the collection of studies of the possible application of performance theory found in *Performance and Transformation*, ed. Suydam and Ziegler (1999).

172 Brett, *Humbert of Romans* (1984), 155–57.

173 Suydam, “Background: Introduction to Performance Studies,” *Performance and Transformation* (1999), 2.

174 Kienzle, “Medieval Sermons and Their Performance” (2002).

be a form of entertainment for the average man.¹⁷⁵ These efforts were more evident as the theater moved out of the inner church to the “stage” outside the cathedral or to the town square, and topics of preaching texts became even more public and political in nature as reported in chronicles and other written sources.¹⁷⁶ Oral cultures require memory stimulation to enhance audience retention of the message of a sermon. In addition to the *exemplum*, other mnemonic devices such as images from Scripture; repetition; and numbers, such as twelve (disciples), three (Trinity), or seven (primary vices and virtues), were enlisted to aid recall.¹⁷⁷

How effective was public preaching and what impact did it have on the formation of the medieval public culture? Several kinds of evidence seem to provide a response. For example, the numerous collections of *sermones ad status* that have survived indicate clearly an awareness of the need to preach to different types of audiences, that is, several different ‘publics.’ To be most efficient and effective, part of the strategy was to concentrate on the urban populations.¹⁷⁸ As the bourgeoisie and urban money-making grew, sermons of the mendicants often focused on the theme of usury.¹⁷⁹ Among many, usury was one of the topics addressed by Berthold of Regensburg (ca. 1210–1272), who placed it within the context of a group of sins for monetary gain (e.g., bribery, robbery, and theft). All of these sinners refused to obey God’s law, but usurers were particularly evil because they “signed an agreement with the devil.”¹⁸⁰ As measured by the attention given to him by numerous chroniclers, Berthold preached widely and with great success to urban audiences who struggled with survival in the competitive moneyed economy of the thirteenth century.¹⁸¹

One way to test the success of preaching in general is the behavior of the people—did they come? We can answer this partly by noting that there was a “never fully resolved problem of space capable of containing an ever more numerous public.”¹⁸² This was true as early as the preaching of the first and second

175 Humbert of Romans, *Opera* 2, 435; also 2, 442–43, 448, as cited in Brett, *Humbert of Romans* (1984), 158–59, n. 46.

176 See, for example, Symes, *A Common Stage* (2007).

177 Delcorno, “Medieval Preaching in Italy” (2000), 476–77.

178 Delcorno, “Medieval Preaching in Italy” (2000), 459.

179 D’Avray, “Sermons to the Upper Bourgeoisie” (1979); Rosenwein and Little, “Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities” (1974).

180 Classen, “The Power of Sermons in War and Peace” (2010), 324.

181 Classen, “The Power of Sermons in War and Peace” (2010), 320.

182 Delcorno, “Medieval Preaching in Italy” (2000), 462. Also, see Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence* (1989).

crusades when various chroniclers reported that such large crowds were being drawn that the churches and cathedrals were not adequate to contain those who wished to hear the preachers. It remained true as late as the mid-thirteenth century when the archbishop of Pisa urged his faithful to be generous in supporting the construction of a new cathedral because the current one was too small to hold those who wished to hear his sermons.¹⁸³ In Italy there developed a characteristic and original mendicant architecture, wherein “visibility and communication among the naves was maximized” such that overall a wide space was created to gather the audience “into an almost mystical unity.”¹⁸⁴ As construction could not keep up with demand, the public piazza outside the church walls became the site for public preaching, and it was made more permanent by the erection of a pulpit of wood or preferably stone to accommodate preaching on a regular basis. The baptistery at Pisa and the pulpit of St. Dominic in Bologna are among the oldest examples.¹⁸⁵

Another measure of the growth of preaching and fear of its exploitation in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was the increasing number of new ecclesiastic bans on unauthorized preaching. By 1215 it was deemed such a problem that a general prohibition was issued. This was likely in response to a pattern of observed behavior. Wandering preachers, as well as alms and relic sellers with mercenary motives were at issue. Canons prohibiting such activity issued by papal legates for the diocese of Paris in 1213, and later at councils held at Reims and Rouen all indicate that there must have been a demand (a “market”) large enough and willing enough to be the audience for such preaching.¹⁸⁶

Once you have their attention, Humbert of Romans advised, keep it by preaching frequently: “For just as rain is said to produce little in very arid land unless it continues, so it is with one or few sermons.”¹⁸⁷ With the dynamics of urban growth the demand grew significantly as suggested by the calculation that by the fourteenth century there were on average about 250 sermons preached in a Dominican church each year, with certain prime seasons such as Advent

183 Delcorno, “Medieval Preaching in Italy” (2000), 462.

184 Delcorno, “Medieval Preaching in Italy” (2000), 463.

185 Delcorno, “Medieval Preaching in Italy” (2000), 463–64.

186 Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons* (1979), 44–45.

187 Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione praedicatorum*, IV, cap. xx, p. 430: “Sicut enim pluvia unius dici parum prodest in terra multum arida, nisi coninetur, ita parum prodest unus vel pauci sermones,” as cited in Delcorno, “Medieval Preaching in Italy” (2000), 464.

and Lent witnessing daily preaching.¹⁸⁸ Fra Giordano of Pisa spoke of preaching continuously in the early fourteenth century, with as many as four or five sermons a day on certain occasions. Various lay confraternities, at least in Italy, guaranteed an audience so long as the preachers based their themes on concrete issues of the day.¹⁸⁹

Demand suggests impact as well, but various factors contributed to success. The reputation of the preacher, and openness of the public to reception of the message were significant. Therefore, with the greater the demand for success, the bishops and Ministers General tried to recruit preachers whose character was closest to that of the angels. Reputation, of course, is always a volatile factor. One considered a saint one day could be condemned the next under public scrutiny. Audience readiness was equally fickle. Giordano of Pisa, for example, pegged certain members of the community (e.g., soldiers, beautiful bourgeois women, and usurers) as predisposed not to listen well.¹⁹⁰ The frequency of usury as a sermon topic, however, suggests both why potential usurers would have preferred not to hear more about it, and that it was a topic of great interest to the wider public affected by it. The focus in this study, therefore, will be more often on the behavior of the target audience for a preaching campaign and the way our sources such as the preaching manuals indicate potential obstacles to success.

The effectiveness of repeating themes in preaching was not lost upon the theorists of medieval preaching. Analysis of those sermons reveals two things about the ways preaching shaped and reflected the public culture. On the one hand, recent studies show that as the Franciscans and Dominicans responded to the wandering lay preachers, who were somewhat obsessed with the ideal of the *vita apostolica*, they developed similar ideas about poverty, namely that poverty should be respected and not despised. However, they did not attack those who had wealth. Thus, Jussi Hanska has argued that their model sermons were primarily directed toward the common people, the public at large consisting of the poor and the workers, in order to keep them happy in this life while awaiting their rewards in heaven.¹⁹¹ On the other hand, Kate Jansen uses collections of *sermones de sanctis* on Mary Magdalen to illustrate how the mendicants slowly instilled a social meaning of the sacrament of penance over time and how those saintly qualities came to affect the devotional practices of the faithful at

188 For an overview with greater detail, see Gilles Meersseman, *La prédication dominicaine* (1948).

189 Delcorno, "Medieval Preaching in Italy" (2000), 464–65.

190 Delcorno, "Medieval Preaching in Italy" (2000), 468–69.

191 Hanska, "*And the Rich Man Also Died; and he was buried in hell*" (1997).

large.¹⁹² Scholars of the popular culture such as André Vauchez, and more recent examinations of the *sermões de sanctis*, build a strong image of how important the mendicants regarded the need to repeat the models of saints as imitable by the everyday lay person.¹⁹³

Social mores of the public culture were addressed broadly in sermons. Various attitudes (positive and negative) toward women, for example, were reflected across Europe among thoughtful students of preaching such as Humbert of Romans (1190/1200–1277) and Gilbert of Tournai (1200–c. 1284), as well as in models of sermons for mendicant preachers.¹⁹⁴ David D'Avray showed that in late medieval Germany there was room to conceive of a woman as an intellectual; while in contrast Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby has illustrated a polar position among Italian preachers regarding women's behavior. On the one hand they were praiseworthy of their role as mothers, while, on the other, critical of their using attendance at a sermon as only an excuse to wear their fine clothes and gossip.¹⁹⁵ The public was apparently ambiguous also about its opinion of fringe groups of women such as the Beguines of Paris in the late thirteenth century as the public culture became more defined by "interest groups" leading a public life that the clergy had trouble deciding how to incorporate into its hierarchical model of society.¹⁹⁶ As a public culture became more defined, the conflict between the public and the private became even more telling.

In particular, interesting dilemmas were presented to those seeking a mystical path to salvation. Within religious communities women were still denied the union with Christ that could be found through the role of the priest in performing the rite of the Eucharist.¹⁹⁷ Instead, in the later Middle Ages they turned to a deeply private and personal devotion to Christ and sought such a union through the stigmata and other forms of eucharistic piety. However, their devotion led to the emergence of cults that demanded a more public display of eucharistic ecstasy that gave the nuns, such as those at Helfta, "religious power as well as delight—authorization for at least some elements of the most highly valued male

192 Jansen, "Mary Magdalene and the Mendicants" (1995); Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene* (2000).

193 Vauchez, "Saints admirables et saints imitables" (1991); and *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, ed. Kienzle (1996).

194 Muessig, "Sermon, Preacher, and Society" (2002), 88–89. Also, see *Prediche alle donne del secolo XIII* (1978); and Muessig, *The Faces of Women* (1999).

195 D'Avray, "Katherine of Alexandria and Mass Communication in Germany" (1994); Debby, "Italian Pulpits: Preaching Art, and Spectacle" (2010).

196 Beriou, "La prédication au beguinage de Paris" (1978).

197 Here, I follow the conclusions of Bynum, *Jesus as Mother* (1982), 170–71 and 256–58.

religious role without the anxieties that accompanied that role.”¹⁹⁸ The influence of these mystics spread to other houses in thirteenth century, and indeed “the reputations of female mystics appear to have had more influence outside their cloisters than the reputations of male mystics; their *Lives* were frequently read in male houses.”¹⁹⁹

The difficulties of defining the private and the public in medieval life have been known since the publication of *Revelations of the Medieval World* wherein Duby warned of the anachronistic dangers that define “private” in a gendered female manner, in the home, and outside of the “public” political world of the male.²⁰⁰ In her more recent study of the “spatiality of the making of marriage in late-medieval London,” Shannon McSheffrey has re-examined how issues that we might characterize as “private” today were not necessarily so perceived in the medieval public sphere.²⁰¹ By the thirteenth century ecclesiastically-approved marriages required a public process in several steps. First came the betrothal, a contact in which partners in front of trustworthy witnesses exchanged promises to marry. Then the contract was publicized even further by three successive public pronouncements of banns in the parish church of each partner so that any “impediments” to the marriage could be made known. After that, the couple could publicly pronounce their vows in a church before the priest prior to a solemn mass blessing the marriage.²⁰²

In cases where a couple might have slept together before the final ceremony, there was sometimes reference to the “clandestine” or “private” nature of the marriage contract, because it could lead to a judicial process in a lower-ecclesi-

198 Bynum, *Jesus as Mother* (1982), 257–58.

199 Bynum, *Jesus as Mother* (1982), 259. The literature on the mystics continues to grow. One might begin with McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture* (1954); and Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Deutsche Mystik zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (1944). Most recently, see *The Secret Within* (2014), ed. Riehle and Scott-Stokes; Ben Morgan, *On Becoming God* (2012); McGinn, *The Harvest of Mysticism in Medieval Germany (1300–1500)* (2005); *Seeing and Knowing*, ed. Mulder-Bakker (2004); *Performance and Transformation* ed. Suydam and Ziegler (1999); *Medieval Women in their Communities*, ed. Watt (1997); Hirsh, *The Boundaries of Faith* (1996); and *Maps of Flesh and Light*, ed. Wiethaus (1993).

200 Duby, ed., *Revelations of the Medieval World* (1988), 2: ix.

201 McSheffrey, “Place, Space, and Situation” (2004). Although McSheffrey’s focus is mostly on the litigation of fifteenth-century marriage contracts, the canon law of marriage by the late thirteenth century had determined that the marriage contract was made between the man and woman marrying, and not the priest, so her observations would seem to apply to earlier periods as well.

202 As per the summary in McSheffrey, “Space, Place and Situation” (2004), 965; citing Sheehan, *Marriage, Family and Law in Medieval Europe* (1996), 137–66.

astical court concerned with sexual offenses. Thus a distinction between “private” (first stage contract) and “public” (the solemnization) was erroneously made by modern scholars, but McSheffrey argues that this distinction was more often made in cases where the initial contracts were made outside clerical jurisdiction. Cases that appear in court were often disputed because one of the partners was trying not to fulfill the terms of the original contract that they entered into “in public, before witnesses who could be counted on to give evidence should the fact of the betrothal be questioned.”²⁰³ Thus, it is not surprising that issues of marriage found their way into priestly sermons. Whereas prohibition of the “marriage” of priests had itself been an issue in the papal reform movement beginning in the late tenth century, now it became necessary to use public pressure to emphasize the importance of marriage and to maintain the ecclesiastical control over it.

This symbiotic relationship between preaching and the public culture is becoming better known. The scholarship of Carlo Delcorno and others on the Italian medieval world, for example, reveals how the rhetorical forms of the *sermo modernis* (i.e., theme-based sermons) remained the most common form for three centuries, and was adopted by the Franciscans as they came into the foreground of preaching. This form readily accepted the use of the vernacular in order to reach a broad lay audience, and it would later have an influence on secular political speech as well. The urban influence on the “culture of the word” was significant up until the end of the period under examination in this study. Petrarch, for example used the rules of the *ars praedicandi* in all of his public speeches, as exemplified by his *Collatio laureationis* delivered on the Capidoglio in 1341, as well as in his *oratio* for John the Good which he delivered in Paris in 1360.²⁰⁴ Perhaps the individual who best understood how to use the *sermo modernis* as a means to influence others was Robert of Anjou, whose sermons and collations represent the activity of the preacher as an extension of the royal office, even when delivered in the churches of Naples or its university.²⁰⁵

The power of medieval sermon rhetoric as a social force in the public sphere has been recently illuminated by D’Avray’s study of medieval marriage sermons. He argues that they achieved influence because they selected practical problems

203 McSheffrey, “Place, Space and Situation” (2004), 971; citing Sheehan, *Marriage, Family and Law in Medieval Europe* (1996), 137–38.

204 Delcorno, “Medieval Preaching in Italy” (2000), 478–79, and other bibliography cited in nn. 87–90, esp. Godi, “L’orazione del Petrarca per Giovanni il Buono” (1965). See also, Artifoni, “Retorica e organizzazione del linguaggio politico nel Duecento Italiano” (1994); Powell, *Albertanus of Brescia* (1992).

205 Delcorno, “Medieval Preaching in Italy” (2000), 479.

as their themes, they presented their views in a recurring combination of form and content, and they were offered in recurring social situations where the lay Christian *populus* came to expect them.²⁰⁶ Clearly a climate of opinion favorable to the reception of the content of the message was perceived and the potential audience was read correctly to be both men and women. To be effective in achieving the moral message of the strictures against adultery the preacher was competing with several other sources of opposing points of view in the public sphere. The courtly literature such as the *Knight of the Court* seemed to favor adultery, though as usual in romantic literature irony is an often-used ploy. The *fabliaux*, however, were not so constrained in their popular forms of earthly humor, and the contrary teachings of Cathars who devalued marriage also offered competition for the orthodox message about the goodness of marriage.²⁰⁷ Indeed, the public sphere was lively in competing for the attention of the public on this topic. In addition to the public preaching of these sermons, written copies were distributed widely via the *pecia* system to be read by and to influence the clerical segment of the public.

As to their effect, D'Avray concludes in a way that sums up my point about the ways in which preachers detected a public and tried to influence its opinion:

If a given idea is constantly repeated to a huge public over a long period of time, we can say the following with assurance: some will be unaffected, some will be heavily influenced, and many will fall between the two poles.²⁰⁸

Even though there was not a common message, there is little doubt about a widespread discourse operating to achieve a more united opinion that represented a wide cross-section of the public, and included both men and women, as well as lay and clerical sub-publics.

206 D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons* (2001). Also see Schnell, *Frauendiskurs, Männerdiskurs, Ehediskurs* (1998); and Classen, *Der Liebes- und Ehediskurs vom hohen Mittelalter* (2005).

207 D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons* (2001), 10–11 and 14.

208 D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons* (2001), 14.

Chapter 2

The Peace of God and Growing Awareness of the “Public”

In 1930, perceiving the Peace of God councils as being based upon the idea of widespread willing cooperation to achieve the public welfare, Loren MacKinney, without any discussion of how the concept of public opinion might be understood, concluded that the “chief gain was the development of an active public opinion.”¹ Other historians have since concluded that the eleventh century marked the birth of a “momentous [...] social and cultural change,” and, more recently, that a significant part of that change was an ongoing battle for favorable public opinion between and among both secular and religious leaders.² Still, there is less agreement about how to define the “publics” whose opinion counted the most. Was it the secular and ecclesiastical elite only, or did it include those in the everyday ranks of society who were affected most by the destruction of property and disruption of their daily lives by the plundering of restless knights? Scholars following MacKinney seem to assume that it was the opinion of the broader ranks of society that was needed to exercise influence to enforce the decrees of the councils.

In this chapter peace councils and relic assemblies of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries will be examined to try to determine more clearly what role crowds, saints’ cults, and the tools of interdict, excommunication, and cursing may have played in the attempts to manipulate the various publics of this era in a struggle over power and local control.³ The degree to which the councils deserve to be labeled a “movement” has been debated, but the historiography has reached the state where that pedigree is difficult to dislodge, especially with the publication of *The Peace of God*, a volume collecting a number of

1 MacKinney, “The People and Public Opinion” (1930), 205.

2 Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 3; Bitel, review of Menache in *The American Historical Review* 97(1992): 534–5. Also, see Fossier, “Les mouvements populaires” (1971); Morris, *Medieval Media* (1972); Moore, “Family, Community and Cult” (1980); Moore, *The First European Revolution* (2000). Also, now see Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century* (2009).

3 For a good general introduction with an anthropological approach to the culture of the “daily life” of the tenth century as a prelude to the changes of the eleventh, see Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century* (1991). Also, see the useful review of Fichtenau by McNamara in *Speculum* 68 (1993): 143–44.

insightful essays that raise the stakes even higher.⁴ The diversity of the well-crafted essays therein illustrate how difficult it is to sort out the role of Peace councils within the context of the dynamics of tenth- and eleventh-century political life.⁵ Mastnak reminds us that “Peace is a central issue of power,” and the Peace movement played a crucial role “in the competition between secular power and ecclesiastical authority for domination of Christian society.”⁶ My goal is to call attention to the way the councils reflected upon the appearance of the *populus* as a collective phenomenon, and raised questions regarding the potential for using crowds to influence political action.⁷

Peace Councils and Attracting the Public

At the turn of the first millennium in Europe, those seeking peace against armed enemies attempted several alternatives, including saints’ relics, canon law, excommunication, and oaths. Monks, such as Abbo of Fleury (ca. 945–1004), produced a significant collection of writings and speeches calling upon the King of France to institute and enforce peace laws that would protect both church property and people from the power of local bishops as well lay *milites*. Specifically, he complained that:

Those who are these days called defenders of churches defend for themselves that which by law belongs to the church against the authority of laws and canons. Thus they inflict violence on clerics and monks and they rob the property of churches for their own use and profit.⁸

⁴ *The Peace of God* (1992), ed. Head and Landes. Regarding the historiography, see Paxton, “History, Historians, and the Peace of God (1992).”

⁵ This point is made by Moore in a postscript to *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992). Also, one must read the very well-balanced and insightful review of the book by Janet Nelson in *Speculum* 69 (1994): 163–169, who cautions readers to examine Dunbabin, *The Making of France* (1985), 152. Dunbabin suggests that modern historians may have conferred the peace movement with “greater significance than it ever enjoyed.” Also, see his review of *The Peace of God* in *The English Historical Review* 110 (1995): 1231–32.

⁶ Mastnak, *Crusading Peace* (2002), 1.

⁷ As Janet Nelson warns in her review of *The Peace of God* (1994), 166, “*Populus* is a hard word to translate.” The editors of *The Peace of God* (1992), 2, n. 3, use it to “refer to all those free laypeople of relatively low status whom we might call commoners, that is, to wealthy merchants and impoverished peasants alike.”

⁸ Abbo of Fleury, *Collectio canonum*, chap. 2, in *PL* 139: 476–77, as cited and translated by Head, “The Judgement of God” (1992), 220.

However, these pleas were not so successful until combined within the structure of councils specifically summoned to pray for peace and enact canons that would use the tool of excommunication to enforce oaths taken to protect the unarmed and the property of the church.

More recent research on the earliest councils of the late tenth century indicates that the term “peace” meant the absence of plunder or at least some better control of it.⁹ Considerable debate remains about who actually was the originator of the concept. Ecclesiastical or secular lords, the “public” at large, or even God by way of “heavenly letters” are mentioned,¹⁰ but in general scholars seem to accept the idea that it was the bishops who first seized this ‘public ground.’ In crossing the borders of the private feud by resorting to public pillage the lay *milites* had opened up a space for local ecclesiastical leaders to claim the upper moral ground by declaring what is “good for the Church is good for the people.” This meant they had to use the *populus* and the threatened weight of its opinion to support their claims.

In the tenth century, peacekeeping functions were still nominally in the hands of the kings. Modern historians have disputed rather hotly over whether there was “chaos” on the heels of the demise of the Carolingian Empire.¹¹ Georges Duby portrayed the era post-980 as one characterized by the breakdown of public order,¹² but that thesis has been seriously challenged in recent years. The disagreement boils down to a characterization of the changes in European

⁹ Magnou-Nortier, “The Enemies of the Peace” (1992); Mastnak, *Crusading Peace* (2002), 4–7. For a list of the councils and their goals, see Goetz, “Protection of the Church” (1992). Also, see Duby, “Les Laïcs et la Paix de Dieu” (1968), 453; and, the collection of his related articles in Duby, *The Chivalrous Society* (1977); H. E. J. Cowdrey, “The Peace and Truce of God” (1970); Rosenwein and Little, “Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities” (1974); Bisson, “The Organized Peace” (1977); Head and Landes, *The Peace of God* (1992), Introduction; Head, “The Development of the Peace of God” (1999); Barthélemy, *The Serf, the Knight & the Historian* (2009). For early German scholarship on the Peace and Truce of God, see Töpfer, *Volk und Kirche* (1957), a Marxist interpreter; and, Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei* (1964), esp. 25–44. The early French scholars included Bonnaud-Delemare, “L’idée de la Paix au XIe et XIIe siècles” (1951).

¹⁰ On “letters from heaven” in this context, see Van Meter, “The Peace of Amiens-Corbie” (1996), 646–50.

¹¹ Barthélemy, “La paix de Dieu” (1997).

¹² Duby, *La société au XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (1953); Duby, *The Three Orders* (1980). For a succinct summary of the impact of this breakdown on Carolingian justice and ecclesiastical institutions, see Little, *Benedictine Maledictions* (1993), 206–09.

society as evolutionary (a mutation) or revolutionary (“feudal revolution”) in nature.¹³

The emergence of the Peace councils must be seen in the context of other means of dispute resolution.¹⁴ Scholars such as Cheyette and White have pointed out the widespread use of methods other than war for settling disputes, including gift-giving, arbitration and compromise.¹⁵ Feuds were considered normal, like natural disasters in this era, but the means of resolution were changing.¹⁶ Property was usually at the center of feuding because “property was turned into power through activities which were seen as socially both desirable and necessary such that accumulation of power itself was generally seen in a good light.”¹⁷ Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, in her examination of the use of seals in correspondence and charters among the French nobility of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, concluded that seals were evidence of “a more general and unprecedented shift toward mediation, representation, and the formulation of personal identity.”¹⁸ Research by Reuter, White, and Geary reveals much about the increased use of “publicly witnessed agreements” to resolve conflict.¹⁹ Included in options for the attempted reduction of violence in the late tenth century was the coming together of both secular and ecclesiastical lords at synods and councils not only to pray for peace, but to take collective action to try to ac-

13 The following provide a good introduction to the issues and the debate: Duby, *The Chivalrous Society* (1980), 15–58; Poly and Bournazel, *La mutation féodale* (1980), 81–103; Bisson, “The ‘Feudal Revolution’” (1994); Bisson, “‘Feudal Revolution’: a Reply,” (1997); Barthélemy and White, “The ‘Feudal Revolution’” (1996); Timothy Reuter and Wickham, “The ‘Feudal Revolution’” (1997); Barthélemy, *L’An Mil et la Paix de Dieu* (1999). While Bisson has retreated a bit from the concept of “revolution,” Barthélemy, in *The Serf, the Knight, and the Historian* (2009), still argues to maintain his original position that society was in a lesser stage of mutation.

14 Studies of dispute settlement date back to 1900 with the work of Louis Halphen. For a historiographical overview, see White, “From Peace to Power” (2001). Also, for anthropological approaches, see Roberts, “The Study of Dispute: Anthropological Perspectives” (1983); and *The Settlement of Disputes* (1986), ed. Davies and Fouracre.

15 Cheyette, “*Suum cuique tribuere*” (1970); White, “Feuding and Peace-Making” (1986); White, “*Pactum ... legem Vincit et Amor Judicium*” (1978); and Goetz, “Protection of the Church” (1992).

16 Whether human aggression is an integral part of human nature or not has long been debated among anthropologists, but not part of this study. See, for example, Howell and Willis, ed., *Societies at Peace* (1989). Also, see Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror* (2015).

17 *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages* (1995), 270. On proprietorial warfare, see France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades* (1999), 1–15.

18 Bedos-Rezak, “Medieval Identity” (2000), 1490.

19 See, for example, Reuter, “Peace-breaking” (2006); and, White, “*Pactum [...] Legem Vincit et Amor Judicium*” (1978). For a historiographical overview, with special reference to the bibliography of legal anthropologists, see Geary, “Living with Conflict in a Stateless France” (1994).

tually gain it.²⁰ As the monastic establishment attacked corruption within its own ranks and began to separate itself from lay domination, issues of violence became more directly contested. Cluny, under the leadership of its reforming second abbot Odo (927–942), challenged those who “lay waste the belongings of the church or the poor.” The latter, for Odo, encompassed all those deemed powerless in society.²¹ Scholars now have taken a comparative approach to analyze how the monks confronted their enemies in the context of the fluid nature of authority in the tenth and eleventh centuries.²² These early studies reveal how much the monks resolved their disputes through compromise, but they also note by the eleventh century how local communities were looking to the growing power of the central authority of the popes and church councils to get involved and in the process influence a broader spectrum of the public.

In the context of local power struggles wherein the ecclesiastical lords attempted to free themselves from undue interference by lay lords the canons of early Peace councils often directly addressed the issue of the pillaging of church property.²³ Custom recognized the right of soldiers to requisition goods and food from the fields as the kings collected armed knights, or as the local lords visited their estates (i.e., the right of hospitality). While the tradition maintained that the goods could come from one’s own fields and be paid for, it also stipulated that the soldiers could not plunder the fields of others or even take from their own in amounts beyond the customary allotments. But the vast holdings of the Church made them “irresistible prey” for marauding knights.²⁴ Monastic communities in particular felt the need to protest the violation of those customs on their expanding agricultural lands and the necessity to protect those who worked their fields. Accounts of the various councils do indicate at least nominal success in containing the violence perpetuated on church estates and non-combatants in southern France.

20 In general, see the various directions of the research in the essays collected in *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992); and an overview of the Peace councils in the wider context in Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe* (1993).

21 Odo, *Collationes*, iii, 34, in *PL* 133, cols. 616–17; ii, col. 563, as cited in Rosenwein and Little, “Social Meaning” (1974), 11. Re. Odo, cf. Barthélemy, *L’An Mil et la Paix de Dieu* (1999), 69, and *passim*.

22 Rosenwein, Head and Farmer, “Monks and Their Enemies” (1991).

23 Rosenwein and Little, “Social Meaning” (1974); Sargent, “Religious Responses to Social Violence” (1985); *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 15–18; Goetz, “Protection of the Church” (1992); also, see Connell, “Origins of Medieval Public Opinion in the Peace of God Movement” (2011).

24 Callahan, “William the Great and the Monasteries of Aquitaine” (1977), 326–27, estimates that about one-third of the developed land in Aquitaine was held by ecclesiastical overlords.

Two types of primary sources are used to read the nature of the Peace movement and its impact: (1) charters, chronicles and other legal documents; and, (2) miracle stories, which sometimes provide the greatest affirmation of the presence of crowds at the public events we know as Peace councils.²⁵ A good amount of the modern scholarship has focused on the evidence provided by three eleventh-century French monks: Andrew of Fleury (fl. ca. 1030s), who composed a narrative of major events of the era in his *Miracula sancti Benedicti* (1043); Ademar of Chabannes (989–1034), who wrote numerous sermons and historical accounts of the conciliar activity in Limoges;²⁶ and, Radulfus (sometimes Rodolphus or Raoul) Glaber (ca. 985–ca. 1047), who compiled his *Historiarum* in the 1040s.²⁷

For a variety of reasons (e.g., these are not eye-witness accounts; the bias of the monks; the desire to promote saints' cults), the validity of the contemporary accounts has been called into question.²⁸ However, recent scholarship has accepted in particular the records of Ademar, a monk who sometimes resided in Limoges, and became a promoter of the relics of its patron saint, Martial. From him we have descriptions of the councils taking place in Limoges between 994 and 1033.²⁹ Ironically, because of the details he provided, Ademar has been accused of "making it all up," but Landes has argued persuasively that we should not dismiss his accounts so readily as they are consistent with much of the other evidence of religious enthusiasm in the area in which the councils took place and in which Ademar resided.³⁰ A more complete picture of the Peace

25 *The Peace of God* (1992), ed. Head and Landes, Introduction. Other distinct sources shed light on the Peace councils throughout Europe. See, for example, the discussion of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* in Riches, "The Peace of God, the 'weakness' of Robert the Pious" (2010).

26 A fine scholarly edition of his *Historia*, or *Chronicon* as his most recent editors prefer, is now available. See Ademar Cabannensis, *Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon*, ed. Bourgain, with Landes and Pon (1999).

27 Head, "The Judgement of God" (1995); Landes, "A *Libellus* from St. Martial of Limoges" (1983). For an excellent English translation of Radulfus, *The Five Books of the Histories* (1989), ed. and trans. France. Regarding the mental and social structures of the eleventh century and Glaber in particular, see Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance* (1994), 7.

28 See, for example, Werner, "Observations sur le rôle des évêques" (1989), who, based on legal evidence more than narrative sources, challenged the idea that there was much popular participation in the early Peace councils.

29 Kennelly, "Medieval Towns and the Peace of God" (1963); Paxton, "History, Historians and the Peace of God" (1992); Landes, "Between Aristocracy and Heresy" (1992). For a detailed analysis of Ademar's work in its broader context, see Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History* (1995).

30 Landes, "Between Aristocracy and Heresy" (1992), 185–86. Also, see Landes, "A *Libellus* from St. Martial" (1983); and Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse and the Deceits of History* (1995); Cow-

councils is now emerging within the context of a broader religious enthusiasm that enabled them to develop and continue into the twelfth century, even though the initiative for calling and using the councils began to shift to the secular authorities.

The Council of Limoges in 994 has been suggested as a model for understanding how the *populus* at large could be rallied.³¹ According to Ademar this council came as result of a natural disaster, namely a plague (likely ergotism) that had attacked the Limousin. The assembly was preceded by a three-day fast and a collecting of relics from the region which were brought to the site. The holding of a public ceremony to appease God in the face of a natural disaster was not new. However, what is significant for our understanding of the growing awareness of the power of public opinion is the use of relics, “a relatively new technique—pioneered in the Auvergne and mobilized on such a grand scale at Charroux five years earlier—of drawing massive crowds of inspired people to Peace councils by gathering relics in open fields.”³² Sites chosen for Peace councils carried symbolic meaning that played a role in attracting crowds. Usually, these were places already bound to local peasant traditions. Their central placement was in the Auvergne, a region already “primed” for public displays and public ceremonies by a strong custom of popular saints and their cults since well before the tenth century. It was a poor region with mountains and rural parish mentalities, and no oath was taken there without relics.³³ Thus, public assemblies to achieve a common goal of “peace” seemed quite appropriate.

Landes sees a linkage among the earliest councils—Charroux (989), Limoges (994), and Poitiers (ca. 1000)—that is based on the similarity of the use of relics to draw crowds and in the issuance of canons that addressed common issues that needed broad support to be effective. This is what led MacKinney and others to view the councils as the beginnings of public opinion. The Council at Limoges was attended by an “innumerable multitude of people.” In addition to the account of Ademar, a foundation charter from Charroux and two other independ-

drey, “The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century” (1970); and Hoffmannn, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei* (1964), esp. 25–44. For an overview of the ever-growing scholarship on medieval religious enthusiasm, see the works of Dickson, beginning with *Religious Enthusiasm in the Medieval West* (2000); and Moore, *The First European Revolution* (2000). Also see Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade* (1993); and, regarding enthusiasm as related specifically to apocalyptic expectations, see *The Apocalyptic Year 1000* (2003); and *The Year 1000* (2002), ed. Frassetto.

31 Landes, “Between Aristocracy and Heresy” (1992).

32 Landes, “Between Aristocracy and Heresy,” 187.

33 Lauranson-Rosaz, “Peace from the Mountains” (1992), 133–34. Also, see Poulin, *L'idéal de sainteté* (1975).

ent sources attest to both the large number of relics and “vast throngs of people” who were present at this assembly.³⁴ Charroux and Poitiers also drew large numbers for a three-day fast, included many relics from regional saints, noted reports of miracles, and concluded with “pacts of peace and justice.”³⁵ The novelty of using relics in open fields to gather large crowds to public penitential ceremonies was part of the technique of local authorities who “fanned the flames of popular religious enthusiasm.”³⁶ Therein we have evidence of a growing awareness of the potential for crowds to influence political matters. However, the political value was convoluted by a number of factors, including the apocalyptic implications of the year 1000.³⁷

The debate over the nature and extent of apocalyptic expectations, or the degree to which fear may have “paralyzed the masses” has not been resolved. In his study of the apocalyptic phenomenon Johannes Fried focused on the framework of Church reform and popular enthusiasm marked by the rising tide of saintly cults, pilgrimages, and the hope for a more peaceful kingdom on earth. Commenting on a letter from a monk of St. Germain to a bishop of Verdun who had “read the signs and now wants to interpret their meaning,” Fried noted that the monk calmly pointed out that the invasion by the Magyars was not a new type of occurrence in the history of the Church. Then he argued that those who see it as a sign of the end of the world are not accurate. Instead he directed the bishop to St. Augustine who had concluded that the Apocalypse should be read metaphorically, not literally, and that one should see the current dangers as a sign of the need for self-improvement.³⁸

The concerns expressed by this bishop came before the year 1000, but the apocalyptic shadow did not disappear as the millennial year of Christ’s death ap-

34 Landes, “Between Aristocracy and Heresy,” 186. Also, see Lauranson-Rosaz, “Peace from the Mountains” (1992), re. the Auvergnat origins of the Peace of God.

35 Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints* (1990), 175.

36 Landes, “Between Aristocracy and Heresy” (1992), 186; Landes, “Can the Church be Desperate” (2013), 81, where Landes underscores the significance of the meetings in open fields and rejects Barthélemy’s assertion in his *L’An Mil et la Paix de Dieu* (1999), 370, that no peace council took place outdoors.

37 See, for example, Fried, “Awaiting the End of Time around the Year 1000” (2003). Cf. Barthélemy, “La paix de Dieu dans son contexte” (1997). About twenty-five years ago Moore, in his “Postscript: The Peace of God and the Social Revolution” (1992), 320, raised a still troubling and only vaguely answered question: why was the *populus* so responsive to the appeals of the monks and bishops around the year 1000?

38 Fried, “Awaiting the End of Time” (2003), 18–20.

proached in 1033.³⁹ Ordinary people remained anxious, especially since many monks continued to write in ways that “strengthened the current and widespread belief in the possibility of the imminent and unexpected end of the world.”⁴⁰ Monks also advised bishops and priests who preached sermons outside the monasteries that were heard widely by the everyday lay person. It is clearer now that a broad band of communication strengthened and expanded to reach across the Christian social strata about matters that concerned them all. One scholar has suggested that the Peace movement was millenarian with an aura of the fearful apocalyptic, but most historians have not followed his lead in making such a specific connection.⁴¹ Another argues that it was penitential in nature.⁴² Even with the renewed interest by several scholars, what seems to have resulted to this point is only a general consensus that there was a “heightened and tense apocalyptic climate” in the period from about 950 to 1050.⁴³ In the context of fears generated by the various troubles of the tenth century it is not so strange to imagine a turn to the saints. It would be logical that the cults of saints should play a significant role in that process and somehow connect to the Peace councils and the anxieties surrounding the End of Time. Thus, Fried raised the larger question about the connection to Church reform as well: “Did expectations of the end nourish monastic and church reform, increase readiness to build, enlarge, or decorate churches, or lead directly to the persecution of heretics and Jews?”⁴⁴

The narrative connecting the Peace councils to a growing mass awareness and religious enthusiasm of that era runs along these lines. There were several omens of disaster occurring in the late tenth century, including an appearance of “Haley’s comet” in 989; and, in 992 the Annunciation and the Crucifixion coincided on the Church calendar as a signal of the forthcoming “end of time” in local lore. A pattern is detected directly linking natural disaster (“fire plague” or ergotism) that prompted a “mass religious response of terror and guilt” to pub-

39 Fried, “Awaiting the End of Time” (2003), 21–22, about the issues with the medieval reckoning of time.

40 Fried, “Awaiting the End of Time” (2003), 20.

41 Bonnaud-Delemare, “L’idée de la Paix au XIe et XIIe siècles” (1945; 1951).

42 Duby, “Les laïcs et la paix de Dieu” (1973).

43 *The Apocalyptic Year 1000*, ed. Landes, Gow, and Van Meter (2003), v–vi. For discussion focused on the year 1033, see Van Meter, “The Peace of Amiens-Corbie” (1996), esp. 638–41. For dissent on this view, see Barthélemy, *L’An Mil et la Paix de Dieu* (1999), 14–56; and Gouguenheim, *Les Fausses Terreurs d l’an mil* (1999).

44 Fried, “Awaiting the End of Time” (2003), 23.

lic communal acts of penitence.⁴⁵ This was in addition to the relic assemblies and massive crowds who attended the peace assemblies to witness the swearing of pacts of peace and justice. But the pieces of this narrative are difficult to fit together.

Lester Little accepted the value of the massing of saints' relics, with an attempt to "focus mass public disapproval upon the perpetrators" of rampaging by the *milites*, as an inventive technique.⁴⁶ Brown had noted that the "ceremonial of the saints came to be used in Gaul both to differentiate and to widen the Christian community," or in other words as a form of "public outreach," from the earliest days of Christianization.⁴⁷ Religious enthusiasts of the eleventh century sought out the saints with a renewed passion, creating local saints and fighting over the relics that might bring them protection and favor.⁴⁸ Cults of saints in effect offered solutions to then-current problems, some more public than others. It was the monks who first turned to the saints to create a mechanism to obtain economic freedom and to partner with the crowds attracted to the monastic sites of the relics in order to weaken the power of the secular elite. But it was the bishops who took advantage of the general unrest, millennial fears, and the cults of the saints to propose the Peace councils as a solution to the reckless destruction of church property. More recent analysis of these events in the context of the millennium is slow to accept the references to "the people" as true indicators of participation in these assemblies by the population at large. Claire Taylor, for example, is doubtful that the alleged union of "the Church" with "the common people" is anything more than "something imposed on the sources by chroniclers and canonists."⁴⁹ If we remain skeptical about the presence of large numbers of "common people" at the councils, Lauranson-Rosaz counters with

45 On the linking of the apocalypse to natural phenomena, see Lobrichon, "L'ordre de ce temps et les désordres de la fin" (1988); and Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium* (1986). For the era of the 1030s in particular, see Callahan, "Ademar of Chabannes, Apocalypticism" (1991).

46 Little, *Benedictine Maledictions* (1996), 211.

47 Brown, *The Cult of Saints* (1981), 99; also, see Gaiffier, "L'hagiographie et son public au XIe siècle" (1967). On cult promotions as "public outreach," see Hayward, "Demystifying the Role of Sanctity" (1999), 126–27. Also, see Hollingsworth, "Holy Men and the Transformation of Political Space" (1999), 213, who uses eleventh-century examples. An even broader comprehensive overview of the history of the cult of saints has been recently provided by Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* (2013), who provides a reliable synthesis of the past fifty years of scholarship on the topic in the context of medieval modes of thinking.

48 Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History* (1995); Töpfer, "The Cult of Relics" (1992); Goetz, "Protection of the Church" (1992); Callahan, "The Peace of God and the Cult of Saints" (1992); and Geary, *Furta Sacra* (1978).

49 Taylor, "The Year 1000 and Those Who Labored" (2002), 212–13.

this insight: “whether the poor were actually there may be less significant than the emphasis placed on their presence in the document.”⁵⁰ It is the construct itself that is just as important for this study.

The popularity of these cults was growing rapidly in conjunction with other demonstrations of religious enthusiasm, including the councils, pilgrimages, liturgical processions, apocalypticism, and, ultimately, heresy.⁵¹ In this process the attention paid by various sources to crowds continued into the eleventh century and the value of invoking “popular opinion” became clearer.⁵² Councils were most prominent in two periods, the first before the year 1000, and again from 1028 to 1033, the millennial anniversary of Christ’s death. It was in these councils that the use of saints’ relics to attract crowds was prevalent. Relics from various saints were carried to council sites with large numbers of followers apparently accompanying them. Peace-keeping oaths were taken with hands placed on the relics.⁵³ The words *pax et justicia* (peace and justice) appear regularly in the canons and descriptions of the various councils, but not the phrase *Pax Dei* (Peace of God), until about 1033. This linguistic shift signaled an attempt by the monastic leaders of reform to use their growing popularity to persuade the *populus* to focus more on the attainment of the ultimate heavenly peace than the immediate earthly. In this process Töpfer considered “the Church” as monolithic, and rather boldly overstated that its main task was to “implant its ideology among the masses and secure control over them.”⁵⁴ However, he was not out of step with other scholars who also placed the rise of saintly cults into the context of the broader religious enthusiasm that brought support to Church reform itself, as well as the enhancement of pilgrimages and the building of more and larger churches to accommodate the growing number of pilgrims.

Töpfer also clearly connected the cults to the Peace of God movement. He recognized that the veneration of saints was not new, but their popularity was

50 Lauranson-Rosaz, “Peace from the Mountains” (1992), 120.

51 Callahan, “The Peace of God and the Cult of Saints” (1992), 170. On the promotion of the cult of St. Martial by Ademar, see Callahan, “Ademar de Chabannes et pax de Dieu” (1977); and Callahan, “Eleanor of Aquitaine” (2005). On the popularity of miracles and pilgrimages in England from 1066 to 1300, see Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims* (1977).

52 Callahan, “The Peace of God and the Cult of Saints,” 170. See also, Moore, *The First European Revolution* (2000), 14–15; Barthélemy, “Le paix de dieu dans son contexte” (1997).

53 Callahan, “The Peace of God and the Cult of Saints,” esp. 176–78, regarding the significance of the oaths. See a sample oath by Bishop Warin of Beauvais in *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 332–34.

54 Töpfer, “The Cult of Relics” (1992), 41. This reflects the influence of Marxism on Töpfer. One wonders, as did Nelson in her 1994 review of *The Peace of God*, why Marxist historians have not paid more attention to the Peace movement as a phenomenon of the “rise of the masses” (166).

being greatly enhanced by monastic propaganda using relics to attract the masses to either Peace councils or to monastic sites. In support, he cited a case in Burgundy where the monks “spread the news” to draw other monks in procession from St. Martial in Limoges to Angely.⁵⁵ Landes conducted an even more detailed study of the cult of St. Martial, and demonstrated that it had been very obscure before the first Peace council at Limoges in 994. Again, citing Ademar and other corroborating evidence to illustrate how Limoges became “perhaps the most famous example of a ‘sanctified’ Peace council,” he points out that the officials used the relics of saints and reports of miracles to attract large crowds and generate “great spiritual enthusiasm.”⁵⁶ The work of Landes and Töpfer supports the view that the display of relics in abbey churches “drew visitors to the monasteries from all levels of society; the reports are unanimous in telling about the lay crowds attending the abbey churches, which grew in numbers and importance during this period.”⁵⁷

In stage two from about 1020 to about 1070, the Peace movement experienced significant change as it became more penitential in nature and more central to clerical reform.⁵⁸ By 1025 it had expanded its reach when peace decrees were being issued throughout the Auvergne, as well as Burgundy, the Narbonne, Catalonia and even northward into Flemish and Norman dioceses and imperial Germany, but not to England.⁵⁹ This was also the time when the lay lords seized the opportunity to attempt to rebalance the thrust of the ecclesiastical lords in stage one of the movement, and began to develop their own “peace ideology” via the attempt to impose a “universal peace” in the form of a proclamation commonly known as the Truce of God.

First proclaimed at Elne in 1027, a council was held in an attempt to prevent all fighting on days of religious significance. In the canons proclaiming the Truce we find that “the aforesaid bishops (along with the clergy and the faithful people) established that no one dwelling in the aforesaid county and diocese would assail any enemy from the ninth hour on Saturday to the first hour on Monday, so

55 Töpfer, “The Cult of Relics” (1992), 49.

56 Landes, “Between Aristocracy and Heresy” (1992), 186. Also, see Bisson, “The Organized Peace” (1977), 292–95.

57 Töpfer, “The Cult of Relics” (1992), 49.

58 Landes, “Between Aristocracy and Heresy” (1992), 201, n. 91, who cites Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei* (1964), 3–4; also see Goetz, “Protection of the Church” (1992), 193.

59 Kennelly, “The Peace and Truce of God: Fact or Fiction?” (1962), 35. Helmholz, *The Canon Law and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* (2004), speculates that the Peace was considered unnecessary by the bishops of England because the king kept the peace.

that everyone would render the honor owed to the Lord’s day.”⁶⁰ Not long after, as confirmed in the actions of a synod at Arles in 1041, this one-day prohibition was expanded to include the entire weekend from dusk on Wednesday to dawn on Monday.

This wholesale attempt to employ the Truce of God to curb violence for longer periods of time and to include a broader cross-section of the public had its downside. As mid-eleventh century approached, there was a growing uneasiness about the dangers of the power of the “people” whether or not they were actually present at many of the councils as proclaimed. According to Glaber, these councils still involved the “whole people” or “*populus*,” and by 1038 adherents to the newest peace effort even undertook to enforce the vows taken. Gradually, however, both lay and ecclesiastical leaders withdrew the use of relics at Peace councils in order to lessen the attraction for crowds.⁶¹ Apparently their anxiety was warranted. Though no direct link has been found to the withdrawal of relics from public display at the rallies, subsequent religious enthusiasm did lead a significant number of people to seek alternatives to the hierarchical leadership of the Church as they pursued the ultimate peace via the *vita apostolica*.⁶² Thus, the unintended consequence of arousing public opinion. Although the councils were originally called in an attempt to use the crowds to persuade the *milites* to cease violence against the non-combatants and the poorer elements among the *populus*, by mid-eleventh century it became clearer that public opinion could be quite fickle.⁶³ A turn to ways of life that were ultimately declared to be heretical was one option, but there were others.⁶⁴

Those seeking peace against armed forces attempted several alternatives. One was to expand the attack on the bearing of arms. At Narbonne in 1054 a canon declared that “No Christian should kill another Christian, since whoever kills a Christian doubtless sheds the blood of Christ.”⁶⁵ This precept fit well with

⁶⁰ Acts of the Council of Elne-Toulouges (1027), trans. in *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 334.

⁶¹ *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 7.

⁶² Lobrichon, “The Chiaroscuro of Heresy” (1992); and Landes, “Between Aristocracy and Heresy” (1992), 207–13.

⁶³ On the foundations of the “Peace Theory,” see Goebel, *Felony and Misdemeanor* (1976), 7–24.

⁶⁴ Connell, “Origins of Medieval Public Opinion in the Peace of God Movement” (2011), 181. On heresy see Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992); Moore, *The First European Revolution* (2000); and below, chapter four of this study. On the taking of arms, Head, “The Judgment of God” (1992); Lobrichon, “The Chiaroscuro of Heresy” (1992); and Lauranson-Rosaz, “Peace from the Mountains” (1992).

⁶⁵ *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 8.

the Augustinian definition of the “ordered concord between men,”⁶⁶ and the attempt to practice social ordering became more prominent. Limiting all violence against fellow Christians faced obvious difficulties and constituted a crucial aspect of the background for the crusades. By the twelfth century, even though the Truce of God continued as a weapon against violence in medieval society, the focus and the means of enforcement had changed. Instead of protecting certain groups in society, it now tried to put boundaries around the times when a wider range of violence could be committed; and those responsible for enforcement became the secular lords attempting to expand their central control over matters of state. This was evident in France, where it has been suggested that by mid-twelfth century the Peace of God became the King’s Peace.⁶⁷ Head and Landes went so far as to posit that the Truce days “constituted the first moments at which, at least in theory and by legal definition, public authority held a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence, an idea that was to become one of the cornerstones of the modern concept of the state.”⁶⁸

By the late eleventh century, however, the papacy had reasserted its central and universal role in matters of peace among Christians. Urban II, in his call for the First Crusade in 1095, in order to redirect the local conflicts against fellow Christians to a general war against unbelievers, issued a renewal of the Truce of God that was to be applied throughout all of western Christendom. At Clermont the pope began what might be regarded as the third stage of the Peace movement. The rationale for keeping the Peace among Christians in order to provide incentive for the *milites* to become part of a crusading army to the Holy Land was repeated again in the twelfth century and throughout the thirteenth-century ecumenical councils. Besides reaffirming the Truce, Lateran IV (1215) and Lyons I (1245) continued the ban on knightly tournaments which were deemed another form of killing fellow Christians, and Lyons II (1274) extended the Peace at home to a six-year period.⁶⁹ To maintain this as an effective policy would have required widespread public awareness and support to direct religious enthusiasm toward a central papal objective in the face of many distractions. Thus, this repetition could be read as either a sign that it was working—or not. Either way the popes apparently saw the need to try to maintain the public pressure.

⁶⁶ Remensnyder, “Pollution, Purity, and Peace” (1992), 282.

⁶⁷ The king’s peace concept was originally examined in 1937 by Goebel, *Felony and Misdemeanor* (1976), 10–11. Then expanded upon in the era of the Peace by Graboïs, “De la Trêve de Dieu à la paix du roi” (1966). Also, see O’Brien, *God’s Peace and King’s Peace* (1999).

⁶⁸ *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 8.

⁶⁹ Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy* (1975), 29.

Assessment of the impact of the Peace movement remains controversial. On the conservative side, Goetz maintained that it:

[...] never aimed at establishing a new order [...] it was a reaction to the constitutional and social changes that occurred at the end of the tenth century [...] but it was not a reaction to a kind of feudal anarchy. On the contrary, it fell back on new political institutions of the existing legal order [...] [it was] neither a fight between bishops and dukes for leadership in society (as suggested by Bonnaud-Delamare) nor an alliance between the clergy and populace against the nobility as a whole (as suggested by Töpfer), even though it was no doubt a popular movement provoked by the misdeeds of the nobility.⁷⁰

Goetz concluded that the movement was significantly “of the people,” but essentially “for” the maintenance of the power of its secular and ecclesiastical organizers. In contrast, Landes and others asserted that the Peace mobilized the “masses” and gave them an active role to play in public affairs.⁷¹

Before moving to an examination of the clerical reform movement in detail as found in the next chapter, it is important to examine several issues related to the study of the *populus* and public opinion that arise from this review of the activities of the Peace councils. These include the nature and role of crowds; some questions about the use of the interdict and excommunication as tools to enforce the peace oaths; and the ongoing use of the curse as a means to deal with peace breakers.

Crowds and Greater Attention to the “People”

Assuming the existence of public opinion in the Middle Ages, and that it functioned within the common elements of society, why would the secular and ecclesiastical elite have to pay attention to it? One simple answer is found in the aphorism “*vox populi, vox Dei*.”⁷² As early as the eighth century, however, the educated elite were cynical. Alcuin (c. 735–804) wrote to Charlemagne in 798 that those who assert that the *vox populi* is the *vox Dei* should not be believed because in his view “the tumultuous crowd is always very close to madness.”⁷³ The negative association of the crowd with “madness” has persisted in the modern social science research on

⁷⁰ Goetz, “Protection of the Church” (1992), 278.

⁷¹ See especially, Landes, “Between Aristocracy and Heresy” (1992), *passim*.

⁷² Studies of its use over time are found in Gallacher, “*Vox populi, vox Dei*” (1945); Boas, “*Vox populi*” (1969); and, with particular reference to the Middle Ages, Peters, “*Vox populi, vox Dei*” (1990).

⁷³ Alain Boureau, “*L’adage vox populi, vox Dei*” (1992).

the crowd from Le Bon in the late nineteenth century to current days. More recently, however, even though the term "crowd" remains elusive, a more nuanced view of it as a key phenomenon of collective behavior has emerged.⁷⁴ Whereas the Oxford English Dictionary, 1989 edition, deriving from the Old English *crūdan* [press or hasten], defines the noun "crowd" as a "large number of persons gathered so closely together as to press upon or impede each other," the current American edition of the OED defines it as a "large number of people gathered together, typically in a disorganized or unruly way." Scientific study of animal behavior raises questions about "swarms" (e.g., swallows, ants, fish), and indicates parallel questions about human crowds.⁷⁵ Although crowds appear chaotic, the studies indicate that the chaos is not as great as imagined. Animals swarm mostly because they seek protection among the many. Do human crowds indicate the "wisdom of the many"? The debate continues while scholars take issue with Habermas's definition of the public sphere as "rational interaction."⁷⁶ Thus, it is interesting to explore the way the crowd is portrayed in the accounts of the medieval Peace councils.⁷⁷

Various monastic sources were invariably fascinated by their ability to draw "massive crowds."⁷⁸ One example is provided by the *Vita et miracula sancti Justiniani pueri*, which relates that this saint's relics were displayed at a Peace council in Limoges and that the *popularis concursus* (i.e., every order of the population) "left all worldly concerns and turned to the work of praise."⁷⁹ Letaldus of Micy (d. ca. 1010) tells of the display of relics at the Charroux assembly, especial-

74 The scholarship is massive and ongoing, but for an introductory overview, see Le Bon, *The Crowd* (1969); Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power* (1963); Elsner, *Robert E. Park: the Crowd and the Public* (1972); Brown and Goldin, *Collective Behavior* (1973); *Changing Conceptions of Crowd Mind and Behavior*, ed. Carl Graumann and Moscovici (1986); John McClelland, *The Crowds and the Mob* (1989); McPhail, *The Myth of the Madding Crowd* (1991); and *Crowds*, ed. Schnapp and Tiewis (2006). For a broad overview, Mackay, *Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds* (1932; 1980).

75 "Swarms: The Intelligence of the Masses," <http://digital.films.com.libproxy.nau.edu/Portal/Playlists.aspx?aid=186248&tid=42260> (accessed Nov. 13, 2014).

76 See Plotz, *The Crowd* (2000), regarding the nineteenth century; Hayes, *The People and the Mob* (1992); and, most recently, Fairclough, *The Romantic Crowd* (2013), who presents an interesting thesis regarding the role of sympathy in shaping the crowd in the Romantic era which juxtaposes the views of Hume on the crowd as the elite circles of society with those of de Quincey on the crowd as unruly mob.

77 R. I. Moore was perhaps the first to focus scholarly attention on the crowd of the eleventh century in "Family, Community and Cult" (1980).

78 Landes, "Between Aristocracy and Heresy" (1992), 187. For a broad overview of mass movements in Western Europe beginning in the eleventh century, see Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (1957).

79 Landes, "Between Aristocracy and Heresy" (1992), 195.

ly those of his patron saint Junianus, where a “great crowd of many people [*populus*] gathered there from Poitou, the Limousin, and neighboring regions.”⁸⁰ A foundation charter similarly confirms that at Charroux there were a multitude of relics and an “innumerable multitude of people”; and, Saint Vivian’s relics were taken to Limoges where there were great crowds gathered to “strengthen the peace.”⁸¹ Relics and reported miracles of Ste. Foy brought large numbers to a council in the Rouerge (ca. 1012), where it was alleged that while observing the curing of a boy born deaf and dumb “the cries of the common folk (*vulgus*) went up.”⁸² The acts of the council of Elne-Toulouges (1027) indicate that “various important clergy, along with an assembly of the sacred dukes and a crowd of the faithful (not only men but also women)” met to renew the peace terms that had been violated recently.⁸³ Then, the charter of the abbey of St. Maixent (1032) outlines how the dukes and bishops and “every order of clerics” established the rule that councils should be celebrated in every city. Furthermore, in those councils “with an innumerable multitude of people [*plebs*] gathered there, as much of nobles as of the powerless, they should treat matters concerning the Catholic faith.”⁸⁴

These miscellaneous reports over time are supported in greater depth by the major sources. For example, in his *Historiarum* regarding events of 1033, which marked not only the anniversary of Christ’s death, but also the end of a devastating plague that had lasted for about three years, Radulfus Glaber wrote:

At that point in the region of Aquitaine, bishops, abbots, and other men devoted to holy religion first began to gather councils of the whole people [*populus*]. [...] When the news of these assemblies was heard, the entire populace [*tota multitudo universae plebis*] joyfully came, [...] A voice descending from heaven could not have done more.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ *Delatio corporis s. Junianus ad synodem Karoffensem* (989), PL 137: 823–26, trans. in *The Peace of God* (1992), ed. Head and Landes, 328–29. Also, Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints* (1995), 175.

⁸¹ Landes, “Between Aristocracy and Heresy” (1992), 186, n. 11.

⁸² *Liber miraculorum S. Fidis*, I: 28–29, pp. 71–73, trans. Head, *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 332. Also, for a full English translation of the medieval Latin text by Bernard of Angers, see *The Book of Sainte Foy*, ed. and trans. Sheingorn (1995). Also, see Dahl, “Heavenly Images: the Statue of Ste. Foy” (1978).

⁸³ *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* (1024–1036) (1891): 475 and 485; trans. Landes, *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 335–36.

⁸⁴ *Chartes et docs. De Saint Maixent*, no. 41, p. 108, trans. Landes, *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 337. For evidence regarding the lay presence, Duby, “Les Lâics et la Paix de Dieu” (1973); and, at eleventh-century church councils, see MacKinney, “The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh-Century Peace Movement” (1930).

⁸⁵ *Historiarum* 4.513–17, trans. Landes, *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 338.

Andrew of Fleury, reporting on the activities of the so-called Peace League of Bourges in 1038, indicated that the Archbishop of Bourges imposed an oath of peace on all men of [at least] fifteen years of age that required them to “go after those who had repudiated the oath with arms.” His account further stated:

Nor were ministers of the sacraments excepted, but they often took banners from the sanctuary of the Lord and attacked the violators of the sworn peace with the rest of the crowd of lay people [*populus*]. [...] With the help of God they so terrified the rebels that, as the coming of the faithful was proclaimed far and wide by rumor among the populace, the rebels scattered. [...] Fear and trembling then struck the hearts of the unfaithful so that they feared the multitude of the unarmed peasantry as if it were a battle line of armored men.⁸⁶

Whether as a *plebs*, a *populus*, or “a great multitude,” the crowd re-emerged from historical obscurity and drew the attention of the observers of the various Peace councils.

Most recently, Gary Dickson was particularly struck by the “populist character, unexpected inclusiveness” of the assemblies.⁸⁷ Modern studies of the crowd consider the late nineteenth-century work of Gustave Le Bon as a classic in the field. Unlike Alcuin, Le Bon, writing in the age of modern revolutions and crowds, worried over the possibility that the “divine right of the masses is about to replace the divine right of kings,” but similar to Alcuin he did not see this as a positive thing for he likened the power of the masses to an undisciplined force, like a raging torrent with the potential to sweep away civilization itself.⁸⁸ Moreover, he viewed the crowd as an emotional, shapeless, unthinking mass, subject to holding only the opinions that “are imposed upon them.”⁸⁹ He argued that the crowd subsumes the individuals within it and “the ideas of all the persons within the gathering take one and the same direction,” and that this direction varies “according to the nature and intensity of the exciting causes to which crowds are subjected.”⁹⁰

Le Bon’s work was quite influential. On the continent it attracted a wide range of interest among psychologists, including Freud, who like many others struggled with problems of the relationship between the individual and the masses. Freud called Le Bon’s work on crowds “brilliant,” but in the broader context vacillated “between fear of the mass and a more measured recognition

⁸⁶ *Miraculi s. Benedicti* (ca. 1040–1043), 5.1.4, pp. 192–98; trans. Head, *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 339–40.

⁸⁷ Dickson, *Religious Enthusiasm in the Medieval West* (2000), 3.

⁸⁸ Le Bon, *The Crowd* (1969), 10–11.

⁸⁹ Le Bon, *The Crowd* (1969), 13.

⁹⁰ Le Bon, *The Crowd* (1969), 20–21.

of its creative potential.”⁹¹ Freud was fascinated with the “contagion” of emotion in the crowd, and his discussion of this aspect has been given a great deal of attention in the early twenty-first century as the study of mirror neurons in the brain suggests a “mimetic response” to others that functions to build crowd aping behavior.⁹²

Coming to America Le Bon’s work was perpetuated in a school elaborating the theory of the “madding crowd” at the University of Chicago that began with Robert E. Park and continued under his student Herbert Blumer.⁹³ The work of the followers of this theory was traced and challenged in 1991 with the publication of *The Myth of the Madding Crowd* by Clark McPhail. In 1898, Le Bon’s contemporary, Gabriel Tarde, made the distinction that the crowd was clearly one of the oldest existing forms of group association, but the “public” only came into existence with nineteenth-century technological development.⁹⁴ He also noted insightfully that while one could be a member of several “publics” simultaneously, a person could only be a member of one crowd at a time. Like Le Bon’s, Tarde’s crowds produced homogeneity, but publics heterogeneity; therefore, it would be difficult to assess “the public opinion” unless one chose to see the two as not distinct.⁹⁵

Tarde, and later Park, subsequently became more interested in the study of publics. Park in particular maintained that the development of Le Bon’s “crowd consciousness” leads to the “loss of the personality by the individual” who feels “something less than the ordinary responsibility for his actions.”⁹⁶ He saw the difference between crowd and public as being defined by the

[...] form and effects of the interactions [...] In the public, the interaction takes the form of discussion. Opinions clash and thus modify and moderate one another. The crowd does not discuss and hence it does not reflect.⁹⁷

⁹¹ Parkin-Gounelas, *The Psychology and Politics of the Collective* (2012), 7.

⁹² Parkin-Gounelas, *Psychology and Politics* (2012), 7–8.

⁹³ Elsner, ed. *Robert E. Park: the Crowd and the Public* (1972). Cf. *Changing Conceptions of Crowd Mind*, ed. Graumann and Moscovici (1986).

⁹⁴ Tarde, “The Public and the Crowd” (1898), 287.

⁹⁵ McPhail, *The Myth of the Madding Crowd* (1991), 7; emphasis mine.

⁹⁶ McPhail, *The Myth of the Madding Crowd* (1991), 8.

⁹⁷ Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1921), 385.

This notion of the rationality of the process of forming public opinion was to become a distinctive characteristic of the formulation of the "public sphere" by Habermas that continues to stir up modern scholars of collective behavior.⁹⁸

The controversial nature of the literature on public opinion and the relationship of the *crowd* (or public, or the masses) to its formation is reflected in the development of a "neo-revisionist" school on the one hand, which is contrasted with a more "common sense" approach on the other. According to the latter, "like poverty, public opinion has always been with us," and public opinion for this group is "the prevailing sentiment of the majority on any given issue or set of issues."⁹⁹ For the neo-revisionists, who base their approach on Habermas's *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, public opinion is "rational, rather than simply the reflection of what most people believe, whether reasonable or not," and, moreover, "public opinion is normative and authoritative."¹⁰⁰ Habermas challenged the assumption that one could even have public opinion without the so-called public sphere being created first.

Reflecting on the range of the modern research, the appearance of the crowd in the medieval records of the eleventh century raises several questions about the early formation of medieval public space and public opinion. First, in calling the Peace councils who decided that there should be assemblies of relics to attract the masses, and why? The details in the monastic accounts are few, but what they suggest is that the bishops were most likely responsible for assembling what the modern research would call an "artificial crowd,"¹⁰¹ that is, one marked by a degree of organization as opposed to a spontaneous assembly. This assembly had a purpose, namely to address the issue of violence against church property and the poorer, unarmed elements in that society, and it was brought together in a familiar place where local communal beliefs were strong. It was convened at a time of widely perceived anxiety, not only about the violence by the *milites*, but also about a natural disorder and/or the End of Time. Thus, the local ecclesiastical hierarchy could take advantage of those fears to assemble a large number of relics from the region to better insure a large attendance by those who looked to the saints for protection from all kinds of disaster.

⁹⁸ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1989); Seidman, ed., *Jürgen Habermas on Society and Politics* (1989); Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (1992); Robbins, ed., *The Phantom Public Sphere* (1993); and Chisick, "Public Opinion and Political Culture in France" (2002).

⁹⁹ Chisick, "Public Opinion and Political Culture in France" (2002), 48.

¹⁰⁰ Chisick, "Public Opinion and Political Culture in France" (2002), 48–49.

¹⁰¹ Moscovici, "The Discovery of the Masses," *Changing Conceptions of Crowd Mind* (1986), ed. Graumann and Moscovici, 22–24.

This type of assembly would also offer a greater opportunity to maintain control over its members of all ranks. A crowd can be led; it can be influenced and manipulated.¹⁰² Whether the bishops and abbots were so farsighted as to understand how such assemblies could possibly help lead to the control of public opinion and the strengthening of the central ecclesiastical authority itself is more difficult to assess.

A related second question arises. Did ecclesiastical leaders consciously try to use the Peace councils to manipulate the crowds and shape public opinion to enforce the penalties of interdict and excommunication that emerged in the canons of these various councils?¹⁰³ Unfortunately, even though the accounts of the councils draw attention to the presence of crowds, they do not reveal much about their nature, size, or behavior. They tell us little, for example, regarding the role of the crowd during the councils themselves. Did they observe the meetings of those who eventually drew up the canons and/or administered the oaths? Letaldus of Micy, in his description of the council of Charroux, says that “great crowds gathered to strengthen the peace,” but not how the crowds were meant to do so. The acts of Elne-Toulouges indicate that along with the clergy and dukes a “crowd of the faithful (not only men but also women)” met to renew the peace terms, but they do not elaborate on the role of the crowd per se.¹⁰⁴ Studies of church councils in the period prior to the tenth century had claimed that the “laity sometimes expressed their opinion, called attention to abuses, gave advice, assented to the decisions, and signed the decrees, though never as actual voting members” of ecclesiastical assemblies.¹⁰⁵ Evidence from Visigothic councils in Spain from the sixth and seventh centuries does relate that kings and high officials would attend councils, and even that the “common folk” had the right to participate as witnesses.¹⁰⁶

Perhaps, overall, it is most likely that the crowd, though primarily serving as spectators at the various meetings held or as witnesses of the miracles reported at these later Peace councils, was drawn there to intimidate the malefactors.¹⁰⁷ Andrew of Fleury’s account of the activities of the Peace League of Bourges says specifically that even the “ministers of the sacraments” took up banners

102 McClelland, *The Crowd and the Mob* (1989), 2–7.

103 Nelson, review of *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), in *Speculum* 69 (1994), 167.

104 Landes, “Between Aristocracy and Heresy” (1992), 186. The acts are found in *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 335–36.

105 MacKinney, “The Laity in French Church Councils” (1929), 568.

106 MacKinney, “The Laity in French Church Councils” (1929), 569.

107 For example, see *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 332.

from the sanctuary and "attacked the violators of the sworn peace with the rest of the *crowd of the lay people* [...]. With the help of God they so *terrified* the rebels."¹⁰⁸ Moreover, the repetition and spread of the councils over space and time, and the similarity of their known canons, such as those of the Acts of the Council of Charroux,¹⁰⁹ give reason to believe that the conveners of those councils were hoping to use them to seize the initiative for peace by taking advantage of the growing religious enthusiasm of an identifiable public. If the clerical leaders of this era were as cynical as Alcuin had been, they likely thought that crowds, lettered or not, could be persuaded to form a singular mass opinion, or the appearances thereof, in order to leverage enforcement of the oaths of the Peace councils.

This brings us to a third issue regarding the relationship between communication and public opinion. What message was sent by whom and to whom in order to assemble the masses? How was the message received by those who eventually attended, and what motivated them to attend? In beginning to see these assemblies in the political context, as Menache did in applying modern research to the medieval era, the sender-message-receiver pattern is important to detect in those cases where it is the intention to reach a large audience.¹¹⁰ As an organized assembly, not a spontaneous one, there was a designated place and time for each peace council. There is no evidence to suggest that, as later in the crusade era, there were roving preachers commissioned to promote these councils. It is most likely that bishops required parish priests to announce and encourage attendance at these meetings. The content of each sermon is unknown. Did the priest focus on the purpose of the forthcoming council? Feature the intended presence and public display of major relics? The message at some level probably fed on the anxieties of the parishioners regarding their immediate safety in the fields; and, perhaps their ongoing uncertainty about the meaning of the Apocalypse as they approached the year 1000.¹¹¹ Rumor undoubtedly played a role. The use of the relics of various saints from the region, not just the local saint, must have further insured widespread interest and attendance. Individuals might not feel safe in a crowd, but in those rural communities it was also not safe to be left out.¹¹² Individual motivation for attendance was likely quite varied.

¹⁰⁸ *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 339; emphasis mine.

¹⁰⁹ *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes (1992), 327–28.

¹¹⁰ Menache, *The Vox Dei* (1990), 6, drawing upon Windlesham, *Communication and Political Power* (1966), 17–30.

¹¹¹ Landes, "'Between Aristocracy and Heresy'" (1992); and Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History* (1995).

¹¹² McClelland, *The Crowd and the Mob* (1989), 330.

There is no evidence that any of those who made up the crowds were forced to come, but peer pressure would have played some role.

Modern research suggests that individuals who make up crowds decide to come to these events for various reasons.¹¹³ Unlike the negative stereotype of the crowd as an unreasoning emotional mass, individuals in a crowd do not give up their power of reason as they come together.¹¹⁴ The closeness of contact in crowds can offer comfort to those who are able to share their personal views and learn that others are equally concerned.¹¹⁵ Studies of modern protest events indicate that social networks play a prominent role in recruiting participation.¹¹⁶ This might have been a particular part of the appeal of the assemblies for those who lived in more isolated rural regions where these councils were held. The crowd, in this case, also gathered at a common public space for developing a hope for a better future, and one upon which the crowd itself might have some impact as it came to assume its public identity. Regardless of the precise means and motivation for assembling, the councils were noted for drawing multitudes and ultimately the sanctions they developed did call upon the *populus* to help enforce the penalties for violation.

There is at least one study that provides some further insight into these questions. Geoffrey Koziol, in his examination of eleventh-century peace-making activities in Flanders that document the northward spread of Peace councils, details a council at Bergues.¹¹⁷ In this case two monks initiated an assembly which was attended by monks, a count and countess, the bishops of Therouanne and London, plus a “great concourse of the Flemish nobility.” As described in the *Miracles of St. Usmari* relics were laid down and a sermon was preached urging peace and concord. The sermon portrayed how their church had been destroyed so they decided to travel throughout Flanders with the relics of Usmari hoping that this patron saint of the Flemish conversion to Christianity might

113 McPhail, *The Myth of the Madding Crowd* (1991), 91–9. The research of Elias Canetti, collected in his *Crowds and Power* (1963), concluded that a fundamental aspect of the human psyche is the impulse to come together in crowds, and that the impulse is motivated by fear of the unknown. See the discussion by Brill, “*Crowds and Power*, and the Dogs of War” (2003).

114 McPhail, *The Myth of the Madding Crowd* (1991), 225–29; Moscovici, “The Discovery of the Masses” (1986), 23–25. For opposition to theories of the crowd behavior as unreasonable, see McPhail, “Gatherings as Patchworks” (2008), 4, who asserts that this research ignores the “kaleidoscopic or patchwork nature of the phenomena” that might be better explained by some version of complexity theory that gives individuals agency to act alone, interact with others, or act collectively.

115 Kruse, “Conceptions of Crowds and Crowding” (1986).

116 McPhail, “Gatherings as Patchworks” (2008), 4.

117 Koziol, “Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace” (1992).

now convert the warring lords to peace. At some point in the sermon, the count began to be won over, and urged his followers to make peace. The monks then began to call out the name of each noble known to be engaged in some feud, urging that individual to make up with his enemy. Apparently this tactic—a public calling out in a public assembly of significant size in the presence of God's representatives, the clergy—was successful. As Koziol remarks, the monks chosen for this journey had the skills "necessary for choreographing the masses and processions they would celebrate along the way." They understood that the knights were proud and fearful of public scrutiny, so the monks knew to "force them into a public setting in which they would be publicly shamed if they denied peace, publicly praised if they accepted it."¹¹⁸ These types of assemblies became common in Flanders and other regions of France, and they were marked by public damnation of peace-breakers, as well as the formation of *amicitia*, communal organizations for the purpose of peace-making that attests to the spread of a growing importance for the *populus*.¹¹⁹ The monks used public events to their advantage in attracting crowds to support their attempts to resolve these feuds and they understood the concept of "opinion leaders." Thus, they chose theatre events or other forms of public spectacle to invite key figures in each feud to attend. This structure enabled channeling of crowd sentiments in support of the efforts to bring peace.¹²⁰

John McClelland has observed that political thought in the Western world exhibits a curious anti-democratic bias that assumes an unnecessary interchangeable use of such terms such as "people," "masses," and "crowd."¹²¹ Since Plato, this trait seems to be driven by the fear that democracy will become rule by the mob. This overlooks the ideal of the "crowd" as a model for society, "even society itself,"¹²² an ideal which could be captured in the medieval use of the term "*populus*" ("the people"). Medieval descriptors of the Peace councils do not imply a negative connotation of the crowd as mob; instead they infer more the potential for yet another use by local churchmen of a positive means to control the faithful on behalf of a clerical goal through more conscious bonding as a Christian community on earth. Even though a crowd could get out of hand, ecclesiastical leaders were long acclimated to various means of crowd collection

¹¹⁸ Koziol, "Monks, Feuds and the Making of Peace" (2003), 245. Also, see *Fama*, ed. Fenster and Smail (2003), 2–5.

¹¹⁹ Koziol, "Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace" (2003), 256–58.

¹²⁰ Koziol, "Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace" (2003), 247–49. Also, see White, "Feuding and Peacemaking in the Touraine" (1986).

¹²¹ McClelland, *The Crowd and the Mob* (1989), 1–2, 7.

¹²² McClelland, *The Crowd and the Mob* (1989), 20.

and control. The construction of more and larger churches in the tenth and eleventh centuries is one means.¹²³ The Mass, with its sermons, along with various liturgical processions, the development of the cults of the saints and relic assemblies are other examples. But the Peace councils marked a new direction. These were not held entirely within the traditional boundaries of a church; a significant part of many of them were in open space to accommodate the crowds to witness the relics and perhaps listen to sermons that helped shape opinion regarding the sinners who violated church property and the poor. Feeding ideas to the public requires simplicity and repetition. In finding a more efficient way to communicate, the Peace councils transgressed other then-current areas of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, namely the administration of “peace and justice,” a role traditionally assigned to the realm of the laity. In this way the crowds came to represent the *populus*, the people in a more modern sense, and the bishops began to play with the use of a broadened notion of the public sphere by experimenting with a space for a more rational approach to crowd influence on the political domain.

More recent studies of collective behavior offer further possible insight into the significance of the reappearance of the crowd in the historical records of the Middle Ages. The peace crowds appeared in a time of conflict, at times of aggression. The explorations of modern scholars on the role of community as a defense against fragmentation or social exclusion, including the work of Derrida on the “politics of friendship,” and Žižek on the relationship between violence and community, suggest that aggression may actually help to build social bonds.¹²⁴ This has been observed by Geary regarding the ongoing nature of conflict in medieval society wherein conflict even served sometimes as an element of unity.¹²⁵ The crowds that came together to witness the power of the saints on a common mission of peace identified with the saints as their patron, as their protector, and thus as a collective identity for a newly emerging sense of “publicness” and community. Medieval crowds may fail to measure up to the modern concept of public, but they were notable representations of “the people.”¹²⁶

123 McLelland, *The Crowd and the Mob* (1989), 62–63; Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power* (1963), 24.

124 Parkin-Gounelas, *Psychology and Politics* (2012), 4, for a discussion of Derrida. Also, see Žižek, “*An Evening with Slavoj Žižek*” (2008).

125 Geary, “*Vivre en conflit*” (1986), 1113–1118.

126 For an overview of more recent research on the modern crowds, see Cody, “*Publics and Politics*” (2011), 40–42. Also, see Tambar, “*Secular Populism and the Semiotics of the Crowd in Turkey*” (2009).

Using the Interdict, Excommunication, and the Curse to Influence the Public

Formal tools selected by ecclesiastical authorities to use the public to try to enforce the oaths of the Peace councils included the complementary sanctions of interdict and excommunication. At the conclusion of the councils the lay lords were supposed to swear, under the penalty of excommunication for failing to keep their vows, to maintain the conditions of the pacts of the Peace of God. Although the presence of large crowds may have offered a “powerful public arena” of approval and disapproval, the councils could not be an ongoing means of enforcement. Even the larger regional Peace councils themselves were not frequently held; instead, they came in waves in the 990s and again in the 1020s. In trying to achieve their objectives, the ecclesiastical lords turned to another potential means of public control, the interdict and excommunication, which were forms of “exile” that had to be enforced by public scrutiny to be effective.

The bishop Alduin (r. 990–1014), who presided over the council of Limoges in 994, apparently used the interdict regularly during his tenure to discipline by imposing a period when “churches and monasteries ceased to perform the divine cult and the holy sacrifice and the people, like pagans, ceased from divine praises.”¹²⁷ This was not a new practice; some form had existed as early as the time of Pope Gregory I.¹²⁸ For various reasons, however, it was not popular, which ironically mitigated the potential for using public opinion to discipline, especially when it involved the whole community as in the case of the interdict. Requiring the innocent to protest and coerce the guilty violators of the oaths taken at the Peace of God assemblies, for example, “could only succeed where there was both a strong popular commitment to ecclesiastical rituals and significant force to such protests.”¹²⁹ Yet, the widespread use of the tool continued well beyond the time of the Peace councils. What is important here is the fact that Church officials were willing to try to use a collective entity, the *populus*, to achieve a common political goal. In this way the ecclesiastical hierarchy was illustrating an awareness of the potential power of public opinion.

Interdict and excommunication were always two-edged swords, whether used to discipline a whole community or just an individual. Elisabeth Vodola has studied excommunication in its many dimensions and observed that there are inherent contradictions that create tension as one tries to execute the pro-

127 Ademar, *Liber miraculorum S. Fidis*, 2.4, pp. 100–104, quoted in Landes, “Between Aristocracy and Heresy” (1992), 196.

128 Landes, “Between Aristocracy and Heresy” (1992), 196.

129 Landes, “Between Aristocracy and Heresy” (1992), 197.

ess.¹³⁰ Early on, Goebel warned that the study of excommunication must take into account the nature of political control which varies from region to region.¹³¹ Rosalind Hill, in her study of the practice in England, concluded that by the thirteenth century, excommunication was used too freely to be more than a minor inconvenience.¹³² In contrast, in examining the practice of excommunication in high medieval Trier, Brian Pavlac heeded the warning of Goebel and found that it was “sometimes surprisingly effective and was taken seriously by both clergy and laypeople,” at least in that location.¹³³ Yet, McClelland made an especially key point about the process. Using the “crowd” to enforce publicly-broken vows with bans of excommunication sounds reasonable, but realistically it becomes difficult when the crowd breaks up and goes home. Then the process relies on individuals to “call out” the excommunicated.¹³⁴

Though intended as a means to address matters of individual conscience in order to rescue the soul from eternal condemnation, what is important for this study are the public aspects of these practices which were called upon in the era of the Peace councils. First of all, excommunication relied upon the power of the curse, a social weapon that “existed in all the cultures that contributed to the Bible.”¹³⁵ It hit at the heart of social community, and aimed to maintain unity by ostracizing and condemning those who violated its norms. In the pagan world criminals who were destined to be sacrificed to the gods because of the severity of their crimes were banned from society first and said to be possessed of magical powers as the result of their being cursed. Greek and Roman curses were used in legal transactions that came to be emulated in medieval anathemas, but it took a while for the magical effects of the curse to become medieval theological concepts.¹³⁶ The curse was one of the aspects of attacking the individual conscience that became a means of collective sanction as well. In the era of the Peace councils the curse was specifically found to apply in the sanctions levied against those who were devastating clerical property. As law and public order broke down in the late tenth century attackers of the monastic properties in Limoges under the patronage of St. Martial, for example, were sent a

130 Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (1986), 2.

131 Goebel, *Felony and Misdemeanor* (1976), 266, n. 174.

132 Hill, “Theory and Practice of Excommunication” (1957), 11. Also agreeing was Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England* (1968).

133 Pavlac, “Excommunication and Territorial Politics” (1991), 21. Also, see his bibliographical footnotes for other studies of the history of excommunication, with particular reference to the work of German scholars, including Hofmeister and Mirbt.

134 McClelland, *The Crowd and the Mob* (1989), 182–87.

135 McClelland, *The Crowd and the Mob* (1989), 182–87.

136 McClelland, *The Crowd and the Mob* (1989), 2–13.

curse that excommunicated them and condemned their families, as well as the products of their estates with the hope that their memories would be extinguished forever.¹³⁷ The publicness of the cursing is noted in these terms:

May the curse of all the saints of God come upon them. [...] May they be cursed in town [...] in the fields [...] inside their houses and outside. [...] May their wives and their children and all who associate with them be cursed. [...] May the lord send them hunger and thirst, pestilence and death, until they are wiped off the earth.¹³⁸

Publicly proclaimed, the whole community was being called upon to isolate the violators. Those who used excommunication understood that the exclusion from personal contact with the rest of the community could have a serious impact. Thus it could be a powerful tool in the public sphere.

According to Lester Little, this is not an isolated finding. A set of texts located in the Auvergne region and dating from the late ninth to the early eleventh century reveals that the use of the curse was widespread, and illustrates a growing sophistication in the knowledge of the power of public denunciation to influence the public in matters that were increasingly political in nature. The curse would be read aloud during the Mass accompanied by a sermon to explain its context. In addition to its place in the public liturgy, curses were copied into monastic records where they gained a kind of legal sanction comparable to that of the monastic charter. By the twelfth century, there were even “curse clauses” included in the charters themselves, as per this sample language:

And if they wish to destroy this charter [...] [may] they have the curses of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob [...] four evangelists [...] twelve apostles [...] 318 holy fathers who deliberated on the canons at Nicaea; and may they have the curse of the 144,000 martyrs who died for the lord.¹³⁹

Hopefully, including the ban of excommunication in the language of the curse as a public condemnation might make it an even stronger deterrent to invasion and robbery.

137 Little, “Formules monastiques de malédiction” (1975); also, see Little, “La morphologie des malédictions monastiques” (1979).

138 Little, *Benedictine Maledictions* (1993), 60–61. Also, see the analysis of Leeson, “‘God Damn’: The Law and Economics of Monastic Malediction” (2014), 205–06, who argues that the clerics used cursing effectively to forestall the property incursions from the mid-tenth century into the thirteenth when secular institutions to protect property were put into place.

139 Leeson, “‘God Damn’” (2014), citing Little, *Benedictine Maledictions* (1993), 56.

By the eleventh century, with increased centralization of Church authority, we find a more formal religious use of the public “*clamor*” to deal with violators of the Peace. Originally, *clamor* was a juridical term used for the process of presenting a petition to a duly constituted tribunal in order to protest the arbitrary use of power by lay lords who devastated the lands of the poor and defenseless. As modified by the monks, though for similar purposes of protecting property, a *clamor* was a petition to God in the presence of the people. By 1075, the process was so regularly used that the book of customs for Cluny included a section on “How to Make a Clamor” (*Quomodo fiat clamor pro tribulation ad populum sive ad deum*).¹⁴⁰ The first step the monks were to take when a predator attacked their property was to assemble the laypeople living near the monastery in the main chapel during Mass. As it was celebrated, a petition would be read aloud indicating that if the property is taken away the community would not be able to live; therefore, “pray to God [...] and we shall make our clamor to him.” By the late ninth century, the clamor had already been linked to curses, such as “May they [predators] be cursed in cities, may they be cursed in the fields,” and the influence of Cluny with its growing number of daughter houses helped to spread the practice widely.¹⁴¹ Since many of the workers on the monastic fields were lay persons who stood to lose if the property were devastated, this practice helped to establish yet another public space wherein the clerical and lay publics were connected for a common political purpose.

Excommunication was promulgated with varying degrees of severity, with its most extreme form being that in which an anathema was hurled at the person who paid no heed to the original sentence. Informal uses of anathema date to the time of St. Paul, though its earliest hierarchical implementation was probably at the Council of Elvira (ca. 305), from which point forward it was used against heretics, including the anathema against the Arians that was appended to the Nicene Creed after 325.¹⁴² In the tenth century, at the peak of the formal development of excommunication formulas, the anathema became a “what else” if simple excommunication failed. In the canons of several of those councils, it was deemed a sentence of “eternal death,” and the ties between excommunication and anathema were later engrained in Gratian’s *Decretum* (ca. 1140). Local monastic communities, though they controlled the use of cursing, they were not the only ones to invoke it. Pope Benedict VIII excommunicated a number of vassals of the count of Provence in 1014 who had broken their vows of

¹⁴⁰ Little, *Benedictine Maledictions* (1993), 20.

¹⁴¹ Little, *Benedictine Maledictions* (1993), 22–25.

¹⁴² Little, *Benedictine Maledictions* (1993), 31.

Peace, using angry, emotional, and vengeful sounding tones to reinforce his intentions:

May they be cursed in the four corners of the earth. [...] May they be cursed in the day and excommunicated at night. May they be cursed at home and excommunicated while away, cursed in standing and excommunicated in sitting, cursed in eating, drinking and sleeping.¹⁴³

This call to the public to support the clergy in times of trouble by disciplining public offenders of the Peace tended to carry special weight among the descendants of the pre-Christian cursing traditions of the Celtic tribes that settled many parts of Europe, and helped to establish a similar climate of opinion in the evolving Christian tradition as the Celtic missionaries worked to convert the pagans of Charlemagne's empire.¹⁴⁴ By calling to the "power of the crowd" the curse, especially the ultimate anathema, was meant to frighten malefactors into submission.

It is not clear how effective this call to public opinion may have been. The large number and widespread use of Peace councils can be read in several ways. On the one hand the need to continue the practice can indicate that the early excommunications were not working and had to be repeated. On the other, since these were regional councils, the subsequent expansion beyond the Auvergne could be read as a sign that the excommunication tool was being embraced and deemed successful enough to adopt it more widely. It is likely that excommunication was effective in more tightly-knit communities of the rural Auvergne in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Ostracism in small villages where everyone knew each other could be powerful. Even in small urban parishes, or monastic communities offering services to the lay populations, those banned would be easily recognized and refused religious services. Personal guilt combined with shame would be likely able to achieve the desired effect on many occasions, even though the impact was not officially recorded. In particular, the anathema, which put the individual into the hands of the devil, and thus "colored" the images of excommunicates (viewing them as lepers, dogs, or pigs, for example) cast a shadow over them within the community.¹⁴⁵ Considered to be "lepers," excommunicates were avoided and had to

143 Little, *Benedictine Maledictions* (1996), 43. Also, see Bitel, "Saints and Angry Neighbors" (2000), 143, who points out that Gerald of Wales (ca. 1146–1223) found clerical cursing to be thriving when he arrived in Ireland. Like continental monks, their curses were aimed at those who threatened their property, but the tradition was embedded in both the Celtic tradition of the magical word and Scripture.

144 Little, *Benedictine Maledictions* (1993), 32, 34, and 152–53.

145 Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (1986), 46.

avoid others of the faithful. The ban had a broad social impact on family, friendships, and religious life; and it carried the stigma of legal *infamia* for the individual.¹⁴⁶ As the population grew after 1100 and people became more mobile, however, this form of ostracism was perhaps less effective as one could enter a new community anonymously and without public record or public opinion to demand that a penalty be paid.

By the twelfth century, as the medieval world became more urban in nature, and commerce closed the social as well as the economic gaps between and among geographic sites, the inherent duality of interdict and excommunication became seriously conflicted over the issue of whether the edicts should punish the innocent as well as the guilty.¹⁴⁷ Since the malefactor's family was included in the penalties, and often for more than one generation, the disruption could be severe for both individuals and their families. Similarly, the interdict prohibited all services and religious rites for entire parishes or dioceses, thus spreading the pain and inviting an even more widespread backlash. Because the clergy had little means of enforcement, it had to call upon the secular authorities to carry out the penalties. Even within its spiritual realm, the sanctions of the Church were being challenged, especially by lay rulers. So when acting against them in issuing interdicts, the bishops or abbots had to count on the personal piety of the ruler, as well as the “pressure of public opinion to compel them to submit,” which more and more backfired as the interdicts “only succeeded in undermining lay orthodoxy and turning them more against the Church.”¹⁴⁸

In sum, it might be argued that the authorities took advantage of a super storm of public enthusiasm spurred by fear and hope in an attempt to respond to several regional political problems. In effect, they built a “climate of opinion” around the notion of the power of the saints to protect against both natural and social enemies, and perhaps even to intercede with the supernatural. Stephen Wilson also reminds us that the charisma of the saints is “potentially dangerous and anarchic,” so their power must be channeled in various ways.¹⁴⁹ This popular piety was reflecting societal longings; new saints were being constructed rapidly in the millennial enthusiasm; and, saints themselves became “collective mental representations.”¹⁵⁰ But how could they best be used in this favorable “climate of opinion” as cultivated in the holding of public councils? It is in

146 Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (1986), 48–75. Also, see Wickham, “*Fama and the Law*” (2003).

147 Clarke, *The Interdict in the Thirteenth Century* (2007).

148 Clarke, *The Interdict in the Thirteenth Century* (2007), 187.

149 Wilson, *Saints and their Cults* (1983), 14.

150 Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society* (1982), 9.

this sense that we see how the medieval world was beginning to understand the power of public opinion, and experimenting with ways to manage it.

Although the potential benefit of using the public to try to enforce the Peace and the Truce of God with excommunication and interdict was visible, the evidence for its effectiveness is mixed and not easy to interpret. Overall, however, the reimplementing of excommunication, interdict, and the curse was powerful enough to warrant their ongoing use even beyond the era of the Peace councils. Enforcement of interdict and excommunication by the secular arm broadened the sense of medieval community by taking the matter of individual conscience into the public realm. In this process it is further apparent that these tools could not have worked at all without the increased call upon public opinion at many levels and across lay and ecclesiastical boundaries.

In the context of the Peace councils the medieval *populus* seems to have functioned in ways that modern scholars would recognize in their studies of public opinion. Comparing it with the model of Noelle-Neumann, for example, the medieval public was dynamic and responding in a highly charged emotional environment in order to affect a common political outcome. In the use of mass gatherings to achieve a political goal, we also perceive a rather sophisticated understanding of the nature of crowds as publics. The employment of interdict and excommunication as tools to induce fear and public censorship presages our modern insights about the psychology of public influence, that is, the “spiral of silence” as per Noelle-Neumann. Unfortunately, the call to public opinion in this case brought the attempt to bring peace in conflict with the strongly entrenched medieval norms of violence. In the words of Stephen Jaeger, “The norms dominate either in public opinion, or in the mechanisms of enforcement, or both;” and, moreover, if “the vital interests of a social group [*populus*] depend on or are perceived as depending on enforcement through revenge, then the advocate of peace is asking for a fight.”¹⁵¹ Regardless, the Peace movement had done much to form the essence and operations of important aspects of medieval public opinion.

¹⁵¹ Jaeger, “Courtliness and Social Change” (1995), 305. Also, see his earlier full-length study, *The Origins of Courtliness* (1985).

Chapter 3

Investiture and Reform Appeal to the *Populus*

As the monks and bishop were assembling councils on behalf of peace, the issue of internal reform of the Church began to take precedence in the canons of those councils, the propaganda of the elite, and the challenges of those who found the ecclesiastical hierarchy wanting in meeting their spiritual needs. Subsequently, moving beyond the attempt to remodel society according to monastic ideals, reform leadership was seized by the bishops in the Peace councils of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, then by the papacy as it freed itself from secular control in the mid-eleventh century.¹ In this chapter I examine that process and its impact on the methods of communication to influence various publics and to enhance the overall development of medieval “publicness.” Whereas the Peace councils were public events drawing attention to issues of public safety and property, the communication among various reform networks was more personal, the rhetoric more intense, and the use of various literary devices (e.g., letters and treatises) was more focused. So too was the personal counsel employed in the attempt to influence various elite publics amidst the conflicts that led to more clear divisions between the clergy and the laity in Christian society. Overall, the various efforts to reach out to the laity by the clergy to influence reform have been described by one modern historian as the invention of the medieval public sphere.²

From its founding charter in 910 the monastery of Cluny drew inspiration for leadership in reform. The charter declared that the first allegiance of the monks was to the pope, independent of control by either the local bishop or the secular elite. This allowed Cluny greater freedom to develop a model of the monastic virtues that it deemed necessary for the creation of a more perfect Christian society overall, as well as the freedom to reach out to the laity to proselytize the monastic model. Unfortunately, distinctions within the clerical orders developed as well as a rift between clerical and lay elements of that society. But the model also had a more positive impact on communication between lay and clerical elements, and it widened the sense of the public in building a design for a community of monasteries centered on the authority of the abbot of Cluny.

¹ Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978). For a broader overview, see Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest* (1970); and, for a focus on the monastic reform, see Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (1970).

² Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere* (2007).

The idea of monastic reform was not new with Cluny, nor was it the only community to seek reform even in its own time (Gorze in Germany could be considered its rival in this regard, for example) so scholars have puzzled over why it was so successful and what made it unique.³ Its “spirit” and the good fortune to have strong leadership from its first abbot well into the eleventh century played significant roles.⁴ In modern terms, Cluny appeared at the right time and it was “popular.”

Insisting on the right to choose its own abbot as per the original Benedictine Rule, Cluny rose above the tradition of lay interference and suggested to the laity a certain purity that appealed in an age perceived as rampant with clerical corruption. The first order of reform of the Benedictine practices was that of prayer and liturgy. Coming before the so-called “Gregorian Reform” era, its militant spirituality was a novelty and other monasteries began to look to it as a model. Many of them even sought to come under the wing of Cluny so as to also achieve independence from local secular interference while purifying their practices and adopting the Cluniac regimen. The laity as well, seeing Cluny as spiritually superior, began to donate land and other property to Cluny and its dependencies with the hope to better achieve salvation through the prayers of the reformed monks.⁵ In this manner the Cluniac model achieved widespread reform of the monastic life, a stronger more interdependent connection with the laity, and significant socio-political influence while standing apart from that society.

Several aspects of what Cluny achieved stand out as contributing to the growing sense of the medieval public. First, there is the nature of Cluniac influence that extended well beyond the scope of a single monastery to a network that was shaping a broader sense of the Christian community. From central Burgundy, Cluny’s network reached to all of France, plus Spain, Italy, England, and even to some extent, into Germany, Hungary and Poland.⁶ By 1049, 261 churches and monasteries, as well as 3021 pieces of land had been donated to Cluny.⁷ It has been argued that Cluny’s “religiosity impelled it to become worldly precisely in order to reform the world spiritually.”⁸ However, the debate continues over the degree to which Cluny became “worldly” and cut across social boundaries in

³ See, for example, the overview in Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound* (1982), 3–29.

⁴ On its early development, see Hunt, ed., *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages* (1971), esp. 11–54.

⁵ Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter* (1989).

⁶ Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound* (1982), 30.

⁷ Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter* (1989), 196.

⁸ Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound* (1982), 22, 14, who cites three early twentieth-century scholars, in particular Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of the Crusade* (1977); Ladner, *Theologie und Politik vor dem Investiturstreit* (1968); and Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society* (1959).

reaching out. Its social makeup has been determined to be rather balanced until the eleventh century when it became a “house of nobles,” and its landowning has been judged a benefit to the laity even as it enhanced its broader profile because many of the donors came from the ranks of elite secular lords, including dukes, counts, and kings.⁹

One example might serve to better illustrate how the influence of Cluny had some impact on political thought in the tenth century. In 988 the monk Abbo (940–1004) was selected as the abbot of the rich and prestigious monastery of Fleury (Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire). Since the era of the Carolingian Renaissance Fleury had prospered from the pilgrims attracted to its site because of its possession of relics of St. Benedict himself. Under Odo, the powerful second abbot of Cluny (927–942), Fleury had witnessed a reform of its practices, but retained its independence because it was under the jurisdiction of the king. Its central location and wealth (e.g., possessing a library of over 1000 manuscripts containing over 6000 various texts from both ecclesiastical and secular sources) placed Fleury in the midst of a political triangle involving the abbot, archbishop Arnulf of Orleans, and the king. It was these circumstances and Abbo’s powers of observation, along with his great access to literary resources, that contributed to his thinking about political matters.

Abbo of Fleury was not a systematic political philosopher, but he did provide insight into the actual conditions and evolution of the social hierarchy in the tenth century.¹⁰ Most famously he delineated a society composed of three orders which he labeled clergy, warriors and farmers. However, he did not paint a simplistic picture. Each of the orders had subdivisions and he recognized the distinction of laity as having a division between aristocratic and peasant elements, and the clergy as divided between its secular and regular components. These were not totally abstract theoretical constructions, but reflected reality fairly accurately. What is important for the evolving sense of the public in medieval life is that Abbo saw the need to reflect upon the components of society and their interrelationships in a time when the public sphere was being redefined and the struggle for control of those elements was reaching a critical point. Abbo borrowed from Cluny his notion of the need for independence and argued for the primacy of the pope and the need for Fleury to be under direct papal authority as had Cluny in order to continue the program of monastic reform. Like Odo, he portrayed monks as leading a superior life, the pope as head of the Church, and

⁹ See Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound* (1982), 38–39, for a diagram of key donors.

¹⁰ For what follows, see Mostert, “The Political Ideas of Abbo of Fleury” (1989); and, Mostert, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury* (1987).

the king as head of the secular state with a primary role of protecting the Church. His sense of the public good offered a hierarchical model, not one in which the lowest elements played a role in ruling, but they did play a significant role in providing food for society. Abbo was describing what he saw, he was not proposing major changes, certainly not a public revolution. The only beneficiaries from his proposed model would be the monastic communities. Thus, he did not even see a major reform of the laity that would be more like the monastic model Odo had envisioned.

Along with the growth of Cluny's power and influence came the danger of corruption and greed. One of Cluny's major assets in the tenth century as it struggled with these issues was its perception of the world. The Cluny "spirit" viewed the monks as human, but redeemed, not "out of the world," but set apart to right the wrongs of society; and, that their world power was closely bound to God's power.¹¹ For Cluny, the proper use of power was for the "general good," a conception of "public good" tied to spirituality.¹² In order to accomplish this goal, Cluny realized it could not stamp out the violence and greed of the times, but it might be able to "control and channel behavior," or, as Rosenwein so cleverly puts it, "bind the rhinoceros."¹³ Cluny possessed a necessary tool for this task, the skill of organization, and it was accompanied by an understanding of the need for coercion. Monks needed to toe the line of the Rule and reform monasteries joining with Cluny needed to follow the Cluny model. If all fell in behind the abbot of Cluny, and the lay communities surrounding the monasteries were persuaded to imitate the more restricted life of the monks to some degree, society would be appropriately reformed.

What offered the prospect of binding the lay community was the way in which property exchange developed to create a web of lay-clerical relationships in which the laity reached inward to the monastery and the monks reached out to the laity. Rosenwein deems the property exchange "a primary social mechanism for uniting a society too often seen as fragmented and disorderly."¹⁴ The private act of donation led to a much broader "public" sense of building a larger Christian community. In the tenth century this was a regional community, not yet even a "France," much less a "Europe," but a growing sense of public commitment to a broader goal than kinship or family. The emergence of the Cluniac ecclesiastical community also demonstrated the fragile nature of the "public

¹¹ Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound* (1982), 57.

¹² Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound* (1982), 76.

¹³ Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound* (1982), 108.

¹⁴ Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter* (1989), 48; see also, Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister* (1987).

sphere” in the Middle Ages. Cluny’s community after all represented a potential threat to a larger community developed by either the kings or the popes. In Rosenwein’s analysis, the Cluniac “system destroyed itself” because it used land as a means of social bonding which took on the “character of a seigneurie and a family inheritance.”¹⁵ Cluny continued to expand in the eleventh century and the gifts of land continued, but the earlier sense of community did not survive.

Gregorian Reform

As the eleventh century developed, the popes began to seize the reform initiative. Modern scholars have tried to determine the extent to which Cluny may have influenced the development of the papal model of reform, especially that of Gregory VII.¹⁶ Though it remains controversial, the evidence does suggest that Cluny was viewed positively by Gregory as he developed his focus on the need for freedom from secular interference in the affairs of the papacy.¹⁷ However, that issue is not as important as we examine the impact of Gregory’s dispute with Henry IV on the way in which the use of various means of propaganda influenced the nature of communications to shape public opinion. Gerd Tellenbach was likely the first to perceive the significance of propagandist literature as the dispute evolved into a struggle between popes and kings over various issues including a central conflict over the right of investiture. Tellenbach noted how the quarrel brought to the fore the role of laity in Church matters overall, and how both sides appealed to the authority of canon law in “making points” in their propaganda.¹⁸ In this case the ‘public’ was the elite, that of the clerical and secular lords, and the methods were the much more personal and vitriolic letters and treatises which flowed from the courts of both the king and the pope.

Medieval letter collections provide a challenging array of sources from which to follow the emergence of public voices. The themes of the letters are often spiritual. Rarely original, the copies we have were made sometime after the original creation and sending, and the collections are not in chronological order in many cases.¹⁹ Letter-writing had an ancient tradition forwarded into the time of the Gregorian papacy and it had various forms. Letters could be more formal and official and governed by the traditional rules of *dictamen* and *cursus*, or they could

15 *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter* (1989), 203, 205.

16 For example, see Cowdrey, “The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century” (1970).

17 Hallinger, “The Spiritual Life of Cluny in the Early Days” (1971).

18 Tellenbach, *Church, State, and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest* (1959), 15.

19 Haseldine, “The Creation of a Literary Memorial” (1997).

be less formal letters “to a friend” which could take the form of a light essay or a factual account of some event.²⁰ Many were long and with a style often criticized as “contrived.”²¹ Despite the various rules, letter writers had “considerable liberty” in their composition. More important for our study is the fact that “all letters [...] [had] a more permanent and public character than they had either in antiquity or in modern times.”²² What this means is made clearer when we examine the letters of both Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085) and King Henry IV (r. 1056–1105) as they engaged in verbal warfare over the “right order” in society in the middle of the eleventh century.²³

Gregory VII came to the papal throne filled with conviction that it was his duty to “announce truth and justice to all peoples.”²⁴ Throughout his reign as pope, Gregory reached out publicly to rebuke evil-doers at all levels using the Old Testament prophets to support his comprehensive program of clerical reform. The main weapon he chose to spread the word was his letters, which were “intended to provide their recipients with *auctoritates* demonstrating the righteousness of the Gregorian cause.”²⁵ The public nature of the cause is indicated by his model charge to Count Robert I of Flanders that mandated the count to “read these words of ours frequently [...] and summon all clerks and laymen to know and proclaim the truth.”²⁶

Gregory’s use of letters demonstrates an awareness of several aspects of the publicness of church reform in the eleventh century. First, it illustrates how keenly felt was the widespread criticism of abuses by the ecclesiastical hierarchy.²⁷ The popularity of the monastic reforms indicated the need for a return to spirituality. Papal corruption itself in the tenth century had created a broad gap in trust, which the monastic reform partly addressed as the recognition of the need for reform gained support. Second, in order for the pope to enhance

20 Constable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable* (1967), 2: 2.

21 Haseldine, “The Creation of a Literary Memorial” (1997), 333.

22 Constable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable* (1967), 2: 2–3. See also Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections* (1976); and, Ysebaert, “Medieval Letters and Letter Collections as Historical Sources” (2009).

23 The phrase was made popular by the work of Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society* (1959).

24 Gregory VII, *Registrum* i.15; cited in Robinson, “Dissemination of the Letters of Pope Gregory VII” (1983), 175.

25 Robinson, “Dissemination of the Letters of Pope Gregory VII” (1983), 175.

26 Gregory VII, *Registrum* iv.11, 310f.; trans. by Robinson, “Dissemination of the Letters of Pope Gregory VII,” (1983), 175.

27 For a more recent summary of these issues, see Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy* (2005), 13–36.

his leadership role, he needed to re-establish trust in the clerical hierarchy all the way to the pope himself. The growing alienation from the current belief system was illustrated by the popular enthusiasm for pilgrimage, saints' cults and the *vita apostolica*. In order to maintain a leadership role in what Moore has labeled the first European revolution the pope began a personal campaign of propaganda that reached out to his networks in order to build and maintain confidence in the pope.²⁸ This approach also illustrated a third aspect of the public nature of his response, namely the acknowledgement of posterity as a public. Thus, he called upon the use of written records, i.e., letter collections that copied and used texts, to inform and persuade the lay as well as ecclesiastical members of the then current public, as well as those who would follow, of the "right order" in society.

What we know about the method of distribution and use of the letters of the pope provides some sense of how widespread and how effective they might have been as public propaganda.²⁹ It appears that the first stage of transmission of papal polemics was in the hands of papal legates who were directed to disseminate the message "among the faithful" of not only Germany but also of France and Spain. We are able to trace the path of some specific individual legates in the process and learn more about to whom the legates delivered the messages. Cardinal Peter of Albano carried a famous polemic (JL 5253) composed in 1084, for example, into France, while the abbot Jarento of Saint-Benigne de Dijon bore it to the Iberian peninsula, and Cardinal Odo of Ostia into Germany. The legates would then connect with active pro-papal circles in these various locations, where the letters would be read aloud, copied, collected and held for use by others in distributing the papal message. These so-called "friendship circles" of the pope were located throughout Christendom, and were often directed by important abbots, bishops or papal legates themselves. The friends of the legate Hugh of Die, for example, included the chronicler Hugh of Flavigny, whose *Chronicon* contained some of the earliest letters of Gregory dealing with reform of the episcopate in France from 1075 to 1080.³⁰

The polemic of Gregory VII illustrates awareness of what is needed to persuade public opinion, namely empathy with the audience and a powerful message based on a known tradition with which the audience can identify and trust.

28 On the argument that the changes of this era represent the "first European revolution" leading to the establishment of a new social order, see Moore, *The First European Revolution* (2000), esp. 65–111.

29 For what follows, see Robinson, "Dissemination of the Letters of Pope Gregory VII" (1983), 188–93.

30 Re. the friendship circles, see Robinson, "The Friendship Network of Gregory VII," (1978).

Writing to secular rulers on the borders of Christendom he reclaimed the role of the pope as “the prince and universal mother of all the churches and peoples” to provide spiritual comfort. Much of the original prestige of the bishop of Rome was the result of this function which was part of the tradition in these regions of the West that had been proselytized by and from Rome.³¹ However, Gregory’s message now took a stringent tone claiming that for the benefit of those kingdoms at the fringes of the Christian domain the pope must be regarded as the main interpreter of Christian tradition and justice. Therefore, papal decrees must be regarded as inspired directly by the Holy Spirit, just as Scripture had been.³² It was in this mode that Gregory wrote about the decree against lay investiture in 1075 at the Roman synod during Lent, and calling upon tradition once again, informed Henry IV that “we resort to the decrees and doctrines of the holy Fathers [...] abandoning error, the first and only rule of ecclesiastical discipline [...] must be renewed and sought after.”³³

The concept of Roman primacy was the key theme of Gregorian propaganda. Gregory self-identified with St. Peter and wrote to his secular correspondents that if they supported his cause they would win favor with St. Peter.³⁴ To the bishops and other clergy Gregory wrote of the need for obedience to “the holy Roman Church, mother and mistress of all Christendom.” As he sought adherence to the decrees of the Roman Lenten synod of 1075 regarding clerical chastity and simony, the pope declared that the decisions had been “promulgated far and wide by letters and legates,” and passages from some of the letters indicated it would be a “great danger and how great an estrangement from the law of Christ [...] not to show obedience especially to the apostolic see.”³⁵ Gregory opened up the concept of public to include both secular and episcopal constituents, and, through their agency, all of Christendom. Hearing complaints about the circumstances of his election to the papacy on April 22, 1073 from the very beginning had demonstrated a concern for widespread approval. Over and over again he reassured his correspondents that his election was clearly valid, representing not only the canonical decision, but bearing approval by “the people” as well.³⁶

³¹ *Registrum* i.64, vi.13, also see *Registrum* vii.6, ix.2, as quoted and translated in Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 17 and 49, n.3.

³² Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 18, referring to *Registrum* ix.3.

³³ Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 18, referring to *Registrum* iii.10.

³⁴ Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 19.

³⁵ Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 22.

³⁶ *Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. and trans. Emerton (1932), xxv. Also see, for example, the early letters of Gregory in this collection dated April 23 to April 30, 1073 on pp. 1–7.

Very early in his reign Gregory began to express doubts about King Henry IV. In a letter of June 24, 1073 to the countesses Beatrice and her daughter Matilda (1046–1115) of Tuscany, he alerted them that he intended to send “pious men” to Henry to urge him to remain loyal to the “Holy Church of Rome” with “detailed instructions as to the proper form of assuming [sic] the empire.”³⁷ In September of 1073 Gregory also wrote to Rudolf of Rheinfeld (1057–1080), Duke of Swabia and brother-in-law of Henry IV, and in October to Erlembald of Milan (d. 1075) to assure them that he was trying to work with Henry. The pope affirmed that he bore no ill will toward the king while individuals, not only pious men, but pious women including Beatrice and Matilda, who are specified in this letter, were working to “bring about harmony between the king and ourself [sic].”³⁸ Meanwhile, Henry, aware of the growing tension, sent a letter to the pope in August or September of 1073 proclaiming that “Kingdom and priesthood, if they are to be duly administrated in Christ [...] must never be in dissension, but must inseparably cleave to each other in the bonds of Christ.”³⁹

Attention to these secular correspondents reflects Gregory’s awareness of the need to connect with and cultivate potential allies at several levels. As the chief Italian supporter of Gregory, Matilda was a powerful political force who skillfully managed a network of her own on behalf of the pope. Duke Rudolf, upon the excommunication of Henry IV in 1076, was subsequently elected anti-King and led the Saxon revolt against him while supporting the reforms of Gregory against simony and clerical marriage. In Rudolf’s group of supporters were the Archbishops of Mainz, Salzburg, and Magdeburg, as well the Dukes of Carinthia and Bavaria and the Saxon rebels Otto of Nordheim and Duke Magnus of Saxony. Reaching back to the volatile territories of northern Italy again, Gregory contacted Erlembald, a pious knight of Milan, who had traveled to the Holy Land on a pilgrimage, and returned to be asked to join his brother Landulf, a notary of the church of Milan, in leading the lay arm of clerical reform in Milan. Known popularly as the *Pataria*, the movement had become a major force against the simoniacal and unchaste upper clergy. In the period from 1057 to 1075 its members such as Arialdo (d. 1066), who preached passionately against simony in Milan, became a more aggressive part of the complex mix of the independent north Italian communal development that formed part of the background for the papal-imperial struggle for the “right order.” Their influence extended to other communes, including Brescia, Piacenza, and Cremona.⁴⁰ Karl

³⁷ *Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII* (1932), 9.

³⁸ *Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII* (1932), 15–18; here 18.

³⁹ *Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII* (1932), 18, citing Henry IV to Gregory VII, *Registrum* Book I, 29 (a), p. 47.

⁴⁰ Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 36.

Leyser goes so far as to refer to this as part of “the first religious mass movements in Europe,” and to credit this “mobilization of urban crowds” with the embolization of more radical measures by the Church against simony and lay marriage.⁴¹ Despite the controversial nature of the movement and its violent tactics to intimidate the non-reformed clergy, Gregory honored Erlembald as a martyr after he was killed in street fighting in 1075.

By the spring of 1075, with his networks in place, Gregory stepped up the campaign against simony and clerical marriage. In January, he wrote once more to Duke Rudolf of Swabia and to Duke Berthold of Carinthia praising their loyalty and devotion and authorizing them “by apostolic authority” to take action, “no matter what bishops may say, or not say,” against clerics “promoted or ordained simonically or to be under the charge of fornication.”⁴² In the same month, realizing the value of the loyal network of Cluny, he wrote to the powerful Abbot Hugh (1024–1109) bemoaning the state of Christendom wherein he found “scarce any bishops who live or who were ordained according to law and who govern Christian people in the love of Christ and not for worldly ambition.” The pope called upon Hugh to assist him in dealing with the wickedness surrounding him by “urging and exhorting those who love St. Peter, that if they really wish to be his sons and his soldiers they do not prefer the princes of this world to him.” In closing this letter, Gregory enjoined Hugh in effect to be a spy and informer in these words: “I desire to know [...] who are really faithful to St. Peter and who are no less devoted to that heavenly prince for the sake of their heavenly glory than to those to whom they are subject for temporal and miserable rewards.”⁴³ With daughter houses in many dioceses throughout Christendom, the Cluniacs could be a strong influence on public opinion on behalf of Gregory.

In the Lenten synod of spring 1075 Gregory unleashed his more aggressive reform measures as previewed in his letter noted above to the German dukes in January. It is not clear whether the most extreme statements of papal authority in the so-called *Dictatus Papae* were expressed in any form during that conclave. They are not a part of the official synodal decrees, but were subsequently entered into the papal register for the period following the synod.⁴⁴ It is most likely that these are a collection of statements expressed by Gregory in various letters to his

⁴¹ Karl Leyser, *Communication and Power in Medieval Europe* (1994), 2.

⁴² *Registrum* ii.45, p. 182, Jan. 11, 1075; in *Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. and trans. Emerton (1932), 63.

⁴³ *Registrum* ii.49, p. 188, Jan. 22, 1075; in *Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. and trans. Emerton (1932), quotes on 64–65.

⁴⁴ Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy* (1988), 117. The *Dictatus papae* is found in *Registrum* ii.55a.

widespread public, captured and subsequently placed in a summary written form near the decrees of the Lenten synod, and meant to reinforce the views of the Gregorian reform on papal supremacy and infallibility.

This view seems borne out in the subsequent correspondence of Gregory with Henry IV. In July of 1075 Gregory applauded Henry's "efforts at self-improvement," especially those on behalf of the pope's focused reform against simony and clerical marriage, and urging the king to persist further because "you have given us cause to expect still higher and better things with God's help."⁴⁵ In September 1075, Gregory wrote praising the victory of Henry over the Saxon rebels and calling upon the king to follow established church procedure in appointing a new bishop to replace the simoniacal bishop Hermann of Bamberg, whom Gregory had deposed earlier after the bishop had refused to reconcile with the pope. The pope's aggressive and persistent approach to eliminate simony was not received well by the defenders of the status-quo such as Sigebert of Gembloux (ca. 1030–1112). In his polemic entitled *Apology against those who challenge the masses of married priests*, composed sometime after the Lenten synod of Spring 1075, he lamented:

Who does not grieve at so great an upheaval in the Church. Which Christian does not, if he has any compassion, feel full of sorrow on seeing Christianity trampled underfoot. *What else is talked about even in the women's spinning rooms and the artisans' workshops than the confusion of all human laws [...] sudden unrest among the populace.*⁴⁶

However, the patience of Gregory demonstrated in these measured letters above soon wore thin as he perceived Henry's reluctance to follow the pope's "guidance." When he wrote to the king in December of 1075, his earlier polite salutations had changed to one of admonishment. Thus, Henry opened the lengthy missive to find these words: "Gregory, bishop, servant of God's servants, to King Henry, greetings and apostolic benediction—but with the understanding that he obeys the Apostolic See as becomes a Christian king."⁴⁷ Immediately then Gregory challenged Henry with the report of his being in communication with "men who are under the censure of the Apostolic See and of a synod," and warned in strong terms that if he were guilty of such transgressions he must "put away those excommunicated persons and force them to do penance and shall yourself obtain absolution

⁴⁵ *Registrum* iii, 3, p. 246, July 20, 1075; in *Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII* (1932), 80–81.

⁴⁶ MGH, *Libelli de Lite Imperatorum et Pontificum* ii, 438, as cited by Karl Leyser, "The Polemics of the Papal Revolution" (1965), 42; translation his; emphasis mine.

⁴⁷ *Registrum* iii.10, p. 263, Dec. 8, 1075; in *Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII* (1932), 86–90; here 86.

and forgiveness for your sin by due repentance and satisfaction.”⁴⁸ In several paragraphs thereafter, and in terms that hearken back to an earlier letter of July to Henry, Gregory lectures him on the necessity of obedience:

[...] since the long-enduring patience of God summons you to improvement, we hope that with increase of understanding your heart and mind may be turned to obey the commands of God. [...] That the fear of God, in whose hand is all the might of kings and emperors, may impress this upon you more than any admonitions of mine.⁴⁹

In effect Gregory had issued a thinly veiled threat of excommunication. This notion of obedience is all-encompassing in the twenty-seven statements in the *Dictatus Papae*:

[...] obedience to God through obedience to “the Roman pontiff [...] [who] alone can with right be called universal,” for he alone “can depose or reinstate bishops,” can “use the imperial insignia,” whose feet “all princes shall kiss,” and who alone may be permitted “to depose emperors.”⁵⁰

This concept of the totality of papal power was not entirely new, with some basis found in the canonical tradition going back to the pope’s model and namesake Gregory I (r. 590–604). However, his claims of papal universality and the right to depose emperors, though in question since the coronation of Charlemagne as Holy Roman Emperor in Rome on Christmas day 800, had not been asserted so boldly or so powerfully and simply before.

Dramatic as the *Dictatus Papae* appears in modern times, it was almost a moot point in Gregory’s reign. The pope’s actions proved to be more conservative and reactive than following any points of the agenda of absolute power laid out in the *Dictatus*. For example, he rarely judged the German bishops *in absentia* who might be loyal to Henry, or following forbidden practices in their own right, unless they failed to respond to his summons to Rome to answer charges. In fact, in most cases, even regarding the deposition of Henry IV after he had excommunicated him, the pope acted within the guidelines of canon law. What was perhaps innovative, is the way Gregory’s decrees and laws were “promulgated in the context of ecclesiological and political battles being waged between Gregory and his opponents in northern Italy and Germany.”⁵¹ These battles were fought with a much greater awareness of the value of propaganda and the use of letters and social networks

⁴⁸ *Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII* (1932), 87.

⁴⁹ *Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII* (1932), 89.

⁵⁰ *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, ed. Ernest Henderson (1910), 366–67.

⁵¹ Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy* (2005), 79.

to insure widespread awareness of the issues and the stakes for participants. For both the pope and the king, the prize was power. Henry needed to consolidate his control in the face of the turmoil of the unsuccessful Saxon revolt as well as the backlash against the papal extension of central power over German and north Italian bishops within the Germanic realm. Thus, both the pope and the king needed to function more effectively in a much wider public sphere.⁵²

The papal letter of December 1075 mentioned above that warned Henry of possible excommunication if he failed to follow Gregory's orders turned out to be the fuse that lit the powder keg. Early in 1076 Henry began dispatching letters summoning the German bishops to a synod at Worms, where the majority of them joined the king in issuing a deposition of the pope himself. Another letter went to the clergy and people of Rome denouncing Gregory as "an assailant and oppressor of the Church, as well as a waylayer of the Roman commonwealth, and of our kingdom," and urging them to enforce the deposition of the pope by the king and the German bishops and to elect a new one.⁵³ Henry also wrote directly to Gregory, not addressing him as "Lord Pope, Gregory, distinguished by heaven with apostolic dignity," but simply as "Hildebrand," which of course was a denial of his legitimacy as pope. In the letter, Henry accused the pope of snatching "with arrogant boldness all the hereditary dignity" owed him, as well as of trying to "alienate the kingdom of Italy" while setting his "hand against the most revered bishops." According to Henry this left him no other choice than to take action of his own, that is, to hold "a general assembly of all the foremost men of the kingdom, at their supplication [he added]."⁵⁴ This letter was included within the text of the letter to the people of Rome. Henry used it to show them why his request to them was necessary, and that he was open and lawful in challenging the pope with what Henry regarded as the papal infraction of legitimate royal authority, and thus followed the public episcopal proclamations of the deposition of the pope.

The action of Henry was warmly received by the twenty-six prominent German bishops who convened at Worms in January 1076. In a separate communication to "brother Hildebrand" their frustrations lashed back at the pope as an arrogant "usurper" who began his pernicious administration with "criminal" activities that they had patiently overlooked. "But now," they asserted, "just as the deplorable state of the universal Church cries out and laments, through the in-

⁵² Cushing, *Reform and Papacy* (2005), 78–81, for a brief overview of these developments.
⁵³ *Imperial Lives and Letters*, trans. Theodor Mommsen and Karl Morrison (1967), letter 10; 145–54; here 145.

⁵⁴ *Imperial Lives and Letters* (1967), letter 11, 146.

creasing wickedness of your actions and decrees, you are woefully and stubbornly in step with your evil beginnings.”⁵⁵ Henry also wrote again to Gregory commanding that he “Descend! Descend!” from the papal throne,⁵⁶ to which Gregory responded with the first excommunication of the king in the Lenten synod at Rome in February of 1076.

The use of excommunication is complicated as we have seen above in chapter two. However, in this case it served Gregory’s purpose quite well. It is a very public action and requires widespread public awareness to be effective, especially in the case of a king. Henry had counted on the complete backing of his bishops and princely vassals, but that did not come. Gregory had his network in Germany in place, and those bishops would not support Henry, nor would even all those who agreed with Henry on the deposition of the pope at Worms.⁵⁷ The ecclesiastical lords came to waiver out of fear of losing their own authority under pressure from their faithful who would suffer the loss of the sacraments and holy rites of the Church. With the threat of a new revolt in Saxony revived among the secular princes, including Rudolf of Swabia, Welf of Bavaria, and Berthold of Saxony, the tide began to turn.⁵⁸ Taking advantage of this split within the network of Henry, the pope rushed forward with a damaging blow.

It was in the Roman Lenten Synod of 1076 that Gregory began the process of isolating his various enemies through the ritual of excommunication. Among those identified were Siegfried, Archbishop of Mainz; various bishops of Lombardy; and then, Henry himself, who had “rebelled against thy Church with unheard-of audacity,” was deprived of his kingdom and all of his subjects were released from allegiance to him. He was cursed with the “bonds of anathema” in order that the “nations may know and be convinced that thou art Peter and that upon thy rock the son of the living God has built his Church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.”⁵⁹

Gregory was aware of the consternation that this action would cause, so he wrote a “general apology to all the faithful in Germany,” naming all bishops, dukes, counts and other loyal defenders of the faith” in this broadly defined public as his audience. Therein he noted that the German faithful were likely questioning the lawfulness, timeliness of deliberation, and authority of the pope.

⁵⁵ *Imperial Lives and Letters* (1967), 147.

⁵⁶ *Imperial Lives and Letters* (1967), 151.

⁵⁷ Brian Pavlac, “Excommunication and Territorial Politics” (1991), points out that the bishops of the German Empire also possessed the power to excommunicate.

⁵⁸ *Imperial Lives and Letters* (1967), 154, n. 52.

⁵⁹ *Registrum* iii.10 (a), February 14–20, 1076; *Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. and trans. Emerton (1932), 91.

Gregory's defense was a lengthy review of the actions that he had taken prior to the excommunication, including his warning letters to Henry and the direct contact that Henry had with papal legates to reinforce the papal point of view. Then Gregory explained that the king had "reached the limit," by refusing to forego relations with those who had been excommunicated, and, by refusing to promise repentance. Moreover, the pope asserted that Henry had "dared to divide the body of Christ, that is, the unity of the Church [...]" [therefore] we excommunicated him through the decision of a council."⁶⁰ Finally, recognizing the potential reluctance of those he addressed to take his side on "account of the wrath of the king," Gregory urged them to "comfort yourselves in the Lord. Know that you are on the side of Him who, as unconquered king and glorious victor, will judge the living and the dead."⁶¹

The excommunication and deposition of Henry worked in Gregory's favor.⁶² By the summer of 1076 public opinion had swung so much against Henry that he had no choice but to seek absolution and acknowledge his obedience to the pope. In the background there still lurked the possibility that the German magnates would hold an election for a new king if the attempt at absolution somehow failed, so Henry begrudgingly promised "to maintain a due obedience in all things to the Apostolic See and to you, Pope Gregory." His words were carefully couched as he added this:

It is also fitting, however, for your Sanctity not to ignore those things which have been spread abroad about you and which bear scandal to the Church. But after this scruple has also been removed from the public conscience, it is fitting that the universal tranquility of the Church as well as that of the kingdom be made firm through your wisdom.⁶³

Here we note how Henry acknowledges the role of public scrutiny in his contest with Gregory. Even after his public humiliation and confession at Canossa in early 1077 that led to the removal of the ban of excommunication and restoration of his powers as king, the balance of opinion continued to play out more in Gregory's favor, at least through the time of Henry's second excommunication in 1080. As Robinson has observed, "After his excommunication [...]" Henry IV clear-

⁶⁰ *Epistolae collectae*, 14; *Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII*, trans. Emerton (1932), 96–99; here 98–99.

⁶¹ *Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII* (1932), 99.

⁶² For a brief overview of subsequent events, see Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy* (1988), 122–124.

⁶³ *Promissio Oppenheimsis, Imperial Lives and Letters* (1967), 154–55, emphasis mine.

ly felt compelled to embrace the reforming cause in an attempt to win the support of responsible churchmen in his kingdom.”⁶⁴

In addition to the letters of Henry IV and Gregory VII, the reform controversy generated a large host of treatises by supporters of both sides that have been labeled as propaganda by modern scholars. Much of it has been collected under the rubric of *Libelli de lite* and is focused on the issue of lay investiture.⁶⁵ Some of the authors of these treatises, such as Benzo, Bishop of Alba (d. ca. 1089), are known, but many of the works are anonymous. Benzo took an anti-Gregory stance early and was driven from his bishopric by the reforming Patrenes of Milan. He then joined the court of Henry, and eventually wrote the *Libri ad Heinricum* which took on a panegyric tone equating the king with emperors of the Roman Empire.⁶⁶ However, Benzo also helped nurture the king’s conscience about the need to create good bishops, and in this regard he took a position much like of Gregory’s supporters, namely that the clerics should be of good moral standing. Where he differed was in his position that the reform goals could be best accomplished by royal control of episcopal appointments.

One of the most elaborate anti-Gregorian polemics was the anonymous *Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda*, which provides insight into the nature of the Council of Mainz called by Henry for spring 1085. As described in the *Liber de unitate* the purpose of the council was to insure peace and harmony as agreed by “a consensus of the bishops from Italy and from German (Gallia)—nay, from the whole catholic Church.”⁶⁷ According to its author, only the emperor (a title now enjoyed by Henry IV) could insure the peace since it was his divinely ordained mission. This theme became the essence of Henry’s propaganda thereafter. The polemics attacked the actions of the pope and labeled him the destroyer of peace, and claimed that the bishops were now “united to us as our dearest limbs.”⁶⁸

Henry’s circle had some specific targets, especially the friends of the Tuscan Countess Matilda, who had been a long-time supporter of the papal party. This effort failed because “pro-papal polemicists [...] were able to elaborate their highly original defense of the Gregorian reform programme precisely because their patroness was herself so dedicated to that programme.”⁶⁹ One of the most interesting responses from someone within Matilda’s circle that better illustrates the various uses of the

⁶⁴ Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 90.

⁶⁵ For a more detailed discussion of this body of literature, see Robinson, “Henry IV as Lord of Peace and Gregory VII as Bringer of War” (1978).

⁶⁶ Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 70–75, 90–91.

⁶⁷ Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 91.

⁶⁸ Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 92.

⁶⁹ Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 100.

polemical treatises (*libelli de lite*) to attack the emperor is found in Book II of the *Chronicon Flaviniacense* of Hugh of Flavigny (ca. 1064–ca. 1140). Apparently Hugh first used the most favorable sections of at least three previously constructed *libelli* (the *Epistola* of Wenrich of Trier; the *Epistola ad Herimannum* by Gebhard of Salzburg; the *Libellus contra Invasores* of Cardinal Deusdedit; and possibly the *Liber ad Gebhardum* of Manegold of Lautenbach), to carve out a glowing polemic favorable to Gregory. Then Hugh brought a series of canonical authorities into his attack on the “stupidity” of the supporters of Henry IV.⁷⁰ Patrick Healy has argued that the *ad hominem* technique of Hugh and his use of canon law authorities was an attempt to influence public opinion, and that the *Chronicon* likely influenced other works, such as the anonymous *De Ordinando Pontifice*, another treatise that “summoned ‘witnesses’ [a rhetorical method known as *Quodvultdeus*] to shape a polemical argument.”⁷¹

In the process of responding to the propaganda of Henry’s supporters, the model of employing the clergy to educate the lay nobility was followed. The pope would send his “friends” copies of canonical authorities that they could use to support their arguments against the polemic of Henry’s “friends.” This networking process could better insure a strong message supported by canon law, the authority of the pope, and the traditions of Petrine doctrine. In addition to the clerical constituents, it would appear that one of the strongest messages was directed toward a lay knightly audience using examples from the warriors of the Old Testament and of Christian saints as “fighters for truth.” Perhaps this was framed in simpler terms that could more easily persuade as it was spread among a wider lay public.⁷²

Advocates for Henry also adopted canonical authority and the *ars dictandi* in their efforts to discredit Gregory. The *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms (ca. 950/965–1025), for example, was likely used by Gottschalk of Aachen (d. 1098) in his letters defending the king in theological terms. In 1076 he argued that the pope deserved deposition because in attacking the king he had affronted the “pious ordination of god that the adversaries of kings are to be excommunicated,” which was an allusion to Rom 13.2 and recalled what Burchard had written in *Decretum* XV.22.⁷³ Gottschalk’s positioning of kings with bishops, by stating that kings are like bishops in that they cannot be deposed unless they wander from the faith, became “an assumption held in common by the supporters

70 Healy, *The Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny* (2006), 215, 219.

71 Healy, *The Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny* (2006), 219–220.

72 Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 102.

73 Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 104.

and opponents of the king.” This concept was not new with Gottschalk, but had been previously constructed in the “political theory” of Pope Gregory I.⁷⁴

Another current treatise of rhetoric, the *Colores rhetorici* (1070) by Master Onulf of the cathedral school at Speyer, offered lessons on the use of twenty-six important rhetorical figures, many of which show up in various polemical compositions authored by supporters of both parties.⁷⁵ Letters 158 and 159 of the *Codex Udalrici* written by Bishop Theodoric of Verdun in 1080, for example, feature the figure *exclamatio* wherein the author raves against Gregory VII: “O the unheard arrogance of this man!” Similarly, Hugh used the same device of *exclamatio* against the supporters of Henry who refused to accept Gregory’s reforms by exclaiming “O insane mind! O filthy wickedness!”⁷⁶ In this early stage of the emergence of the public, and the restoration of the classics in European education, those who sought audience attention may have disparaged the traditions of classical learning, but they used them anyway in the rhetoric of their polemic.⁷⁷ This would change in the thirteenth century in treatises on preaching. Humbert of Romans, for example, says little about rhetoric; instead, in his *De eruditione praedicatorum* he turns to the use of practical psychology in his efforts to make preaching more effective.⁷⁸

In the bitter wrangling of Gregory and Henry in the public sphere we begin to see an emerging debate over the nature of power and control over public domain. Public opinion only comes into play when there is disagreement on how a public issue should be resolved. Because public opinion was in Gregory’s favor in 1076 following the excommunication of Henry, the king had to go to Canossa in 1077 to restore himself in ecclesiastical good graces in order to retain his royal authority over the anti-King Rudolf of Swabia. This put the pope’s allies in Germany in a bind. The pope could not now recognize Rudolf as king, nor could Rudolf claim hereditary rights to the throne of Germany. He lost the battles and his life in 1080. His successor had no luck in gaining support as the public backing shifted once again to Henry. Even as Gregory noted the persistent stubbornness of the king in attacking papal authority and excommunicated him a second time in the spring of 1080, this act “received far less attention than the first, perhaps as indication of a loss of papal authority in Germany.”⁷⁹

74 Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 104–105.

75 Healy, *The Chronicon of Hugh of Flavigny* (2006), 221.

76 Healy, *The Chronicon of Hugh of Flavigny* (2006), 221.

77 Healy, *The Chronicon of Hugh of Flavigny* (2006), 222.

78 Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (1928), 238.

79 Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy* (1988), 124–25.

Immediately following the second excommunication and deposition of Henry, a synod was held at Brixen on the Italian-Austrian border in June of that year which formally deposed Gregory. One of the participants at this conclave was the Cardinal-Priest Hugh Candidus (ca. 1020–1099), who had been an influential supporter of Gregory up to that time. In signing the deposition document, Hugh claimed that he represented the Roman cardinals and placed his signature alongside that of another twenty-seven bishops and King Henry.⁸⁰ The synod also named Wibert (or Guibert) of Ravenna (ca. 1029–1100) as pope. Gregory was able to hang on for another four years, but continued to lose public support until his death in May of 1085. Already by 1084, the cardinals and other prelates and officials of the papal administration had given in to the criticism of Gregory's refusal to bargain with Henry. The Romans even opened up the gates of the city to Henry's army and Gregory retreated into exile as Wibert was likely canonically elected and then consecrated officially Pope Clement III (March 1084). Clement proved popular as pope and was able to resist efforts by Gregory and subsequent Gregorian supporters to unseat him up until the time of Urban II (r. 1088–99).

In the struggle that unfolded between king and pope we see a number of facets of the public sphere and the role of public opinion emerging more clearly in medieval society. The personal nature of letters was turned to more public political functions in order to develop and influence networks. Greater sophistication of the appeal to clerical and lay literate publics is noted, not only in the letters, but also in the treatises that began to discuss issues such as who can judge a king, under what circumstances can a king or a pope be deposed, and even what do "the people" do when a king is acting against their interests all foreshadow the modern realm of public opinion and the public sphere. As late as the council of Gerstungen-Berka (January 1085), for example, representatives of Henry IV met with Gregorian supporters in an attempt to bring about reconciliation. The authority of the Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals dealing with the *exceptio spoli* (the precept that one cannot take judicial proceedings against a bishop who had been despoiled of his property or was in exile at the time) was cited by Archbishop Wezilo of Mainz (d. 1088), who attempted to apply the same principle to the excommunication and deposition of Henry IV by claiming that the king could not be acted against during the time when he had been "despoiled" by the Saxon rebellion. Such ploys did not resolve the dispute or bring about peace, but it has been suggested that the *exceptio spoli* "undoubtedly had a great impact on public opinion. The degree of influence enjoyed by the argument

⁸⁰ Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy* (1988), 125.

can be measured by the anxiety of the papal party to refute it.”⁸¹ A good example is provided in the encyclical issued by Cardinal Odo of Ostia, the papal legate who attended Gerstungen-Berka, denouncing the “the clouds of falsehood” being spread by Henry’s supporters. The latter on the other hand were firing back with claims of “victory” in the debate, citing *exceptio spoli* in support.⁸²

It was one of the supporters of Gregory VII’s actions against Henry IV who perhaps best illustrates a fundamental issue in the debate over the nature of *regnum* as well as the question of loyalty to kings in the medieval context. Manegold of Lautenbach (ca. 1030–1103), in his *Liber ad Gebehardum*, is credited with the development of a concept of *Volkssouveränität*.⁸³ He asserted, for example, that subjects have a history of resistance and rebellion, especially against unjust and depraved kings. Thus, the pope was justified in excommunicating the king and absolving his subjects from their oaths of fealty to him.⁸⁴ A rebellion is just according to Manegold if the king

[...] breaks the *pactum* by which he is elected, and sallies forth to disturb and throw into confusion those things which he was set up to correct, he may rightly be considered to have set the people free from the subjection which they owed, since he was the first to destroy the faith which brought them together.⁸⁵

So, in defending the actions of Pope Gregory VII against King Henry IV, Manegold was elevating the right of the people to rebel against unjust royal authority. Although as far as we are able to know his work was never cited by any heretic of the era, it is clear that questions of resistance to any authority (secular or ecclesiastical) were in the air of the public sphere, and being “promulgated far and wide by letters and by legates” in the eleventh century.⁸⁶

The role played by so-called “friendship networks” in the expansion of the medieval public voice is important to consider further at this point. Gregory established and maintained his network using a pragmatic approach which maintained contact with agents by means of letters and papal legates. However, the key to the success of these networks in influencing public opinion was perhaps the personal outreach of the pope himself that he used to establish trust. The ex-

⁸¹ Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 105–6.

⁸² Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 106.

⁸³ Robinson, *Authority and Resistance*, 124. For elaboration, see Koch, *Manegold von Lautenbach* (1902); also, Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages* (1939), 119–23; Fuhrmann, “‘Volkssouveränität’ und ‘Herrschaftsvertrag’ bei Manegold von Lautenbach,” (1975).

⁸⁴ Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 124–25.

⁸⁵ Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 129.

⁸⁶ Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* (1978), 151.

ample of William of Hirsau (ca. 1030–1091) is offered by Robinson to illustrate why this worked.⁸⁷ As abbot of Hirsau, late in 1075 William traveled to Rome to secure confirmation of the charter of Hirsau which he had recently received from Henry IV, and was thus likely in the favor of the king. Upon reaching Rome, William became ill and had to remain for five months in order to recover. As seen above, this was at the time when relations between Gregory and Henry were rapidly deteriorating. During his stay in Rome William was “courteously received” by the pope who probably discussed his program of reform with William, as well as the model of monastic reform adopted by Cluny. Likely, he was thus persuaded to become a member of Gregory’s circle. Regardless, we know that when he returned to Hirsau in the spring of 1076 William’s attitudes toward both monastic reform and politics had changed. He adopted the Clunian model and thus connected to that network, while Hirsau itself became a center of the Gregorian ideas in Germany, with its monks serving as “polemicists and itinerant preachers of reforming doctrines, ‘sowing the greatest discord everywhere,’” much to the frustration of the bishop of Speyer who was a supporter of the royal circle.⁸⁸

Begun with a pragmatic personal contact, Hirsau became a key communication link in a large chain that extended throughout western Christendom in order to implement the Gregorian and Clunian models of reform in the face of local opposition. Similar roles were played by Hugh of Die (ca. 1040–1106), who as papal legate and Archbishop of Lyon (1081–1106) served Gregory as a node for the dissemination of Gregorian ideas in France and Burgundy. From 1076–1082, Hugh held thirteen councils to try to eradicate simony, but still found time to visit the pope personally in Rome in 1079. Part of the activity of these councils was to promote allies of Gregory to important ecclesiastical positions where they could influence reform. Following Hugh’s council at Avignon in 1080, for example, in order to maintain the charismatic personal touch of Gregory, Hugh dispatched one new archbishop and three new bishops to Rome to be consecrated by the pope himself.⁸⁹ Here we also see how the means of persuasion were further connected. Reform depended on effective means of persuasion that ultimately could reach the laity who also had to be persuaded to change both atti-

⁸⁷ Robinson, “The Friendship Network of Gregory VII” (1978), 1–2. On other friendship circles in the reform movement, see Maier, “Ein schwäbisch-bayerischer Freundeskreis Gregors VII.” (1963); Schnitzer, “Die Vitae beatae Herlucae Pauls von Bernried” (1967); and Robinson, “The Friendship Circle of Bernold of Constance” (1999).

⁸⁸ Robinson “The Friendship Network of Gregory VII” (1978), 2.

⁸⁹ Robinson, “The Friendship Network of Gregory VII” (1978), 4.

tudes and conduct in response to their critique of the clergy.⁹⁰ Councils and papal legates operated to create and construct written canons that were distributed throughout the dioceses. In this process of reform, both the monastic and the secular clergy were drawn more fully into active roles within an increasingly public life of the Church. But it is likely that the ideas contained in the letters and the polemical treatises presented and best clarified the political agenda of the era.

Clearly, the public sphere of Gregory was enlarged and cemented together with ongoing letters reaching out to the network. Letters were meant to be read publicly and the essence of the messages was spread more widely to the lay public via the parish priests as directed by the bishops of each side, or by the proselytizing of the monks and secular clergy. The impact of the letters created during the eleventh-century struggle between Henry and Gregory is hard to measure fully, but “friendship circles” did continue into the twelfth century, and they too followed the examples set by Gregory and Henry in developing networks to influence political decisions involving clerical and lay publics.

Friendship Circles of the Twelfth Century and Expanding Political Influence

Letter-collections are difficult sources for assessing their political impact for various reasons. First, the letters contained therein are only those of the senders, with no replies recorded. Second, the networks implied by the use of terms like “friendship circles” are not well defined as to their membership, their functions, the nature of their interactions or their influence. More recent scholarship on friendship has tried to discriminate more clearly what is meant by the term “friend” in the medieval world, and how friendships may have led to influence, trust, and action on behalf of any particular cause.⁹¹ Some, for example, separate the focus on friendship in secular courts from the more traditional examination of the cult of friendship in the monastic reform. This work highlights how friendship was cultivated out of mutual respect and as a sign of virtue within the growing courtly process of civilizing the lay warriors.⁹² The research on me-

⁹⁰ Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy* (2005), 111.

⁹¹ See, for example, the recent unpublished position paper by Haseldine, “Medieval Friendship and Social Networks” (accessed 4/21/15).

⁹² See especially Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels* (2000), 103, 193, 279, and 281. Also, see, Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness* (1985), 112–126, where he argues the influence of Cicero and

dieval friendship has grown steadily in the past twenty years in an attempt to distinguish the nature of relationships along a bipartite line of characterization that posits the personal/emotional against the formal/instrumental forms of communication. Such a distinction might apply in the analysis of the correspondence of Gregory and Henry because we are dealing with relationships that determine political and social structures, but the distinctions found in the remaining medieval letter-collections are not always so clear. One of the leading proponents of transactional analysis to clarify these relationships has concluded that the focus on distinctions such as personal and private, emotional and instrumental, or affective and pragmatic “cannot satisfactorily account for the nature of the medieval evidence, but rather risks imposing artificial categories or typologies on both relationships and sources.”⁹³

Letters played a significant role in the lives of many of the more famous correspondents of the letter-writing era of the twelfth century. Among those we include important church administrators and political theorists such as John of Salisbury, politically active abbots such as Peter of Celle and Peter the Venerable, and very influential spiritual authorities such as Bernard of Clairvaux. Each has found at least one modern analyst to help us understand the nature of their letter-writing as well as its impact, and to provide a richer context by which to measure the letters of Gregory VII and Henry IV and the rise of the public culture in which they functioned.⁹⁴ From the modern studies of these letters we learn much about the broadening of the public stage on which these individuals operated.

Constable's edition of the bulk of the known letters of Peter the Venerable (1092–1156) contains 165 letters to seventy seven recipients plus twenty four received by Peter. Eighty six of the letters are to only ten different recipients, with the largest numbers going to Pope Innocent II (20), Pope Eugenius III (14), and Bernard of Clairvaux (14). Other recipients include a vast range of individuals, mostly drawn from across the ecclesiastical span of cardinals, bishops and archbishops, abbots, and priests, but also including Peter Abelard (1079–1142) and Adela, the daughter of William the Conqueror who was also the mother of King Stephen of England and Count Theobald of Blois. He also addressed communities, such as the brothers of the Cluniac house at Northampton, and some

Sallust on civic virtue as part of the twelfth-century *renovatio* and as being pervasive in shaping the newly emerging political and social climate.

⁹³ Haseldine, “Medieval Friendship and Social Networks,” 7.

⁹⁴ For examples, see Haseldine, “Friendship, Intimacy and Corporate Networking” (2011); Haseldine, “Friends, Friendship and Networks in the Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux” (2006); Haseldine, “Understanding the Language of *amicitia*” (1994); and Nederman, “Friendship in Public Life” (2007).

lay individuals, including King Sigurd of Norway. As recorded in this collection, fifty-five recipients were sent only one letter from Peter.⁹⁵

The correspondence of Peter the Venerable with Bernard of Clairvaux reveals several important aspects of the nature and uses of friendship in the developing public sphere of reform. First, it reflects how friendship networks were part of the foundation of medieval political structures.⁹⁶ Second, it reveals how much the language of “friendship” was often used more in letters to mere acquaintances, communities, and even strangers than to those considered personal friends. In order to better comprehend the meaning of the term “friend” in the medieval political arena, recent studies have begun to examine patterns and conventions in letter-collections in order to explain how the “extension of apparently personal bonds into the public or political spheres” can help us unravel the relationships “between friendship, social network formation and political action.”⁹⁷ Letters between Peter and Bernard show a pattern similar to other correspondence of the era. Topics are political in nature and reflect broad issues affecting a large political sphere, including debates between the Cistercians and Cluny about the nature of monastic life,⁹⁸ material disputes between the orders, and even wider issues, including the papal schism and the Crusades. Recent analysis indicates that the term *amicus* is used most often in letters where a dispute of some sort is involved. In letter 29, for example, where the topic is an episcopal election at Langres in 1138, Peter links *amicitia* to loyalty and to the broader dispute between the two orders. A key issue was the establishment of political networks, as per Peter’s warning to “Trust members of your household more than outsiders, acquaintances more than strangers, friends speaking truth more than slandering enemies.”⁹⁹ This is only one of six letters to Bernard where the term friends (*amici*) is mentioned within the context of an appeal for Bernard’s assistance and loyalty in the midst of a conflict.

95 For details, see the “Notes to the Letters” in Constable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable* (1967), 2: 93–232. The breakdown analysis of the distribution of the letters is found in Haseldine, “Friendship, Intimacy and Corporate Networking” (2011), 256, n. 14.

96 Haseldine, “Friendship, Intimacy and Corporate Networking” (2011), 251.

97 Haseldine, “Friendship, Intimacy and Corporate Networking” (2011), 251. See also Haseldine, “Understanding the Language of *amicitia*” (1994).

98 On the disputes of Peter and Bernard, see Knowles, *Cistercians and Cluniacs* (1955); Bredero, *Cluny et Cîteaux au douzième siècle* (1985); Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux* (1996); and, Knight, *The Correspondence between Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux* (2002).

99 “Credite magis domesticis quam extraneis, notis quam ignotis, amicis veridicis quam inimicis maledicis.” *Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Constable (1967), 1: 103; Eng. trans. is that of Haseldine, “Friendship, Intimacy and Corporate Networking” (2011), 275.

Examination of the letters of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1154) also reveals scant use of the language of friendship, with only seventy of over five hundred of his letters referring to the recipients as *amici*.¹⁰⁰ As in the example of Peter the Venerable, Bernard's use of the term occurs in letters related to conflict or where Bernard is defending himself against accusations of various sorts.¹⁰¹ The letters have been broken into categories that distinguish between those that are "pragmatic" (e.g., appeals, requests, interventions in affairs), and those which are "friendly" or deal with spiritual content. About eighty per cent of the collection is classified as "pragmatic" in nature.¹⁰² Bernard also addressed a wide audience in his letters, including both Cistercian and non-Cistercian abbots and priors, cardinals, popes, lay princes, former monks, and members of his own family.

Further analysis of the correspondence of Bernard provides insight into the political nature of his networking activities. In writing to non-Cistercian abbots and priors Bernard's goal was to support monastic reform in Burgundy, Champagne and Flanders by forging stronger links with those dissatisfied with the "luxuries" of twelfth-century Cluny and seeking a new more austere reformed Benedictine model.¹⁰³ This outreach effort found Bernard involved with Norbert of Xanten (1080–1134) as he established the reformed order of Premonstratensians, and later as they both supported Innocent II in his dispute with Anacletus over their claims to the papal throne in the 1130s. Bernard was also linked to the Carthusians and the Victorines and cultivated his ongoing influence through his contacts with individual monks and priors.¹⁰⁴

Overall scrutiny of Bernard's letters reveals a very active public engagement in practical matters with appeals for third parties in over half of the collection. Although monastic reform was a prime concern, he was also involved in issues of impact to Christendom that extended beyond the monastic walls, including the papal schism of the 1130s, heresy, and the crusades. His efforts extended the network and the influence of Cîteaux, and reflect the rivalry and conflict involved in

100 Haseldine, "Friends, Friendships, and Networks in the Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux" (2006), 249.

101 Haseldine, "Friends, Friendships, and Networks in the Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux" (2006), 250.

102 Haseldine, "Friends, Friendships, and Networks in the Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux" (2006), 250.

103 Haseldine, "Friends, Friendships, and Networks in the Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux" (2006), 253–55.

104 Haseldine, "Friends, Friendships, and Networks in the Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux," (2006) 256–57.

such an enterprise. In some cases the relationships that Bernard developed could be considered ones of personal friendship, but most were applied politics in an increasingly competitive public sphere.

Analysis of the letters of John of Salisbury (ca. 1120–1180) indicates that he used his friends for various purposes, including to gain employment or legal assistance and support for acquaintances, other friends or protégés; and in a broader public sphere to win political support for Thomas Becket in his struggle with Henry II or to disseminate Becket propaganda.¹⁰⁵ Like Peter the Venerable and Bernard, he was connected to men of political influence and public recognition or controversy. He studied logic at Paris under Peter Abelard (1079–1142), Alberich of Reims (ca. 1085–1141), and Robert of Melun (ca. 1100–1167). The latter was an English scholastic who, after studying philosophy under Gilbert de la Porée (ca. 1085–1154), taught a conservative position on faith and reason in France. In 1148 the Council of Reims examined the orthodoxy of the teachings of Gilbert on the Trinity, and, under the leadership of Bernard of Clairvaux, attacked them as heresy. The influence of these various mentors and the ways their ideas were disseminated and discussed in a growing public sphere of debate over orthodox ideas are evident in the writings of John, most of which were completed from 1153 to 1170 while he served as secretary to both Theobald of Bec (ca. 1090–1161) and Thomas Becket (ca. 1118–1170) as they discharged their duties in turn as Archbishop of Canterbury. Among his closest friends, John counted on Peter of Celle (1115–1183), who was also well-connected and a significant letter writer in a circle that included Becket, and popes Eugenius III (r. 1145–1153) and Alexander II (r. 1061–1073).¹⁰⁶

As arch-episcopal secretary John of Salisbury traveled regularly to both papal and royal courts where he observed much about the need to negotiate the rising public challenges of ecclesiastical privilege and secular authority by kings and secular lords. His most famous work, the *Policraticus*, sheds much light on the contemporary politics and manners of the royal courts, as well as describing society in a metaphorical reconstruction of the human body that paid at least lip service to the role of the *populus*. But it was his letters that best reflected upon the nature of the constitutional struggle which roiled in twelfth-century England and illustrated the value of communication networks in the management of political affairs.

105 McLoughlin, “Amicitia in Practice” (1990), 66. Editions of his letters include: *The Letters of John of Salisbury: Volume One*, ed. Millor, et al. (1955); and, *The Letters of John of Salisbury: Volume Two*, ed. Millor and Brooke (1979).

106 Haseldine, “The Creation of a Literary Memorial” (1997).

A review of Salisbury's letter-collections reveals a total of 325 letters, with 213 of these in his own name written to ninety-two different recipients, whose place in the social ecclesiastical orders ranged from popes and cardinals to archbishops, bishops and parish clergy.¹⁰⁷ His personal output has been compared to that of other contemporary clergy, Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux (d. ca. 1182), and the Cluniac monk Gilbert of Foliot (d. 1187), who served in key positions as abbot of Gloucester and eventually Bishop of London.¹⁰⁸ Of the ninety-two different recipients the comparison shows that John wrote more often to schoolmen (7% of the 92) than Arnulf (2%) and Gilbert (none), but about the same to various monks, 18%, as compared to 21% and 19% for Arnulf and Gilbert respectively. Most recipients of John's letters were secular clergy and monks, with only about 23% of his ninety-two letters being sent to high ranking clergy. Over half of this correspondence was directed toward inhabitants of England, a fourth to those in France or in the continental holdings of Henry II, and about 10% to the papal court, which was in contrast to his patron Becket, who sent most of his letters to the *curia* during the period when both were in exile from England. Because John of Salisbury felt more comfortable writing to those who were comparable in social rank, and upon whom he might have more influence, it has been suggested that Becket asked him to focus his pro-Becket propaganda on England.¹⁰⁹

One thing seems to remain clear about the medieval letter-collections of this era, namely that the selective process of these collections was meant to "present an image, or enhance the reputation, of the author for posterity."¹¹⁰ John of Salisbury, for example, arguably tried to influence the way lessons from his philosophical background could be applied in daily life.¹¹¹ In writing the *Policraticus* he maintained that courtiers who wanted to gain friends should avoid those who demonstrated a love for property and possessions because that pursuit would leave no time for any more than acquaintances.¹¹² Following Cicero's *De amicitia*, true friendship for John meant the antithesis of flattery; it meant the absence of "utility relationships" and the presence of honor, virtue and trust.¹¹³ Thus,

107 McLoughlin, "Amicitia in Practice" (1990), 170.

108 For the data that follows, see McLoughlin, "Amicitia in Practice" (1990), 170–81.

109 McLoughlin, "Amicitia in Practice" (1990), 169–70.

110 Haseldine, "Medieval Friendship and Social Networks" (2006), 6.

111 Nederman, *John of Salisbury* (2005).

112 "Utique dives familiaris esse novit, amicus numquam aut raro [...]," from *Ioannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Policratici*, ed. Clement Webb (1979), here I.212. For further discussion of this text and what follows re. John's treatment of friendship, see Nederman, "Friendship in Public Life" (2007), 390.

113 All medieval writers on friendship appear to be influenced by Cicero. The prime example of how Cicero was embedded in Christian thinking is found in the *De Spiritualis Amicitia* (On Spi-

friendship is very rare and comes only to those who understand that virtue is aimed at the good of others. In the development of friendship circles of the courts and schools in twelfth-century Europe, John advocated a public sphere governed by open and free debate based on rational criticism.¹¹⁴ Individuals should be free to engage in open critique of society and to challenge ideas that fail to be based on rational analysis. As well, John contended that people should listen well to the arguments of others, including the critique of their own ideas. However, according to the *Policraticus* “Truth is stern.” A truly virtuous man wants to know when he is wrong, and a true friend will let him know, for it is better to receive “the chastisement of a friend than the fraudulent kissing-up (*oscula*) of a flatterer.”¹¹⁵

For John of Salisbury, the virtue of justice was prominent in his letters, wherein he attempted to instruct his recipients at various levels of society on the necessity to be virtuous. Whether writing to popes or his social equals, he advocated a variety of what he deemed just causes. Protesting injustices done to the Church, whether it be Canterbury by Henry or Rome by Frederick Barbarossa in acting against Becket and Pope Alexander III respectively, John defined the need for the Church to be free from external interference.¹¹⁶ He even framed his own reputation in terms of justice, writing to those he regarded as true friends such as Peter of Celle and Pope Adrian to defend himself against accusations made about him by Henry II.¹¹⁷ John was careful in pleading his own case to assert that he would not be deterred from defending the Church by efforts from those claiming friendship with him, nor would he abuse his friendship with others in order to obtain preference for himself, because both of these actions would violate his sense of justice and would not be the actions of true friends.¹¹⁸ This of course was a very conscious attempt to influence public opinion—then and now.

Review of the networks of letter-writers has indicated how there developed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries a dynamic and interactive public sphere to

ritual Friendship) of Aelred of Rievaulx (ca. 1110–1167), a treatise that was widely popular for centuries, especially within the monastic communities. For an overview of the work and an introduction to the bibliography of scholarship on Aelred, see Classen, “Friendship—The Quest for a Human Ideal and Value” (2010), 30–36.

114 Nederman, “Friendship in Public Life” (2007), 389.

115 “Meliora siquidem sunt [...] amici verbera quam fraudulenta oscula blandientis.” *Policraticus* I.185; cited in Nederman, “Friendship in Public Life” (2007), 389.

116 Nederman, “Friendship in Public Life” (2007), 393; with reference to letter 260.

117 Nederman, “Friendship in Public Life” (2007), 392; with reference to letters 19, 21, 27, 28, 30, and 31.

118 Nederman, “Friendship in Public Life” (2007), 393; with reference to letters 138, 162, and 261.

influence political actions. As Haseldine's review of the more recent research suggests, the Middle Ages presents a picture wherein friendship must be seen as "an inherently political phenomenon, transcending, sublimating or existing outside personal relationships," which challenges modern notions of friendship as a "private" matter.¹¹⁹ It would appear that friendship in this sense was needed to build trust and encourage open and frank discussion of issues with logic as a guiding principle. This is not to deny the existence of other forms of friendship as found in medieval literature. Secular poets focused on the importance of courtly love and philosophical writers drew attention to personal friendship among men as a source of happiness. All of these authors valued and hoped that such friendships could enable society to develop in a more stable form and prosper while individuals strove to attain union with the divine.¹²⁰ But what we emphasize in this chapter is how the medieval world was developing a public voice to exercise on practical events in this world.

Whereas in the previous chapter the emerging public voice was seen in a more limited regional context of the sporadic Peace of God assemblies and councils, or the focused cults of saints that did not attempt to influence a public so much as to support a local economy while offering hope to individual Christians, the friendship networks emerged in the era of a broad-scale reform movement that affected the entirety of Christendom. The methods of influence were meant to take advantage of developing networks to enhance the effectiveness of their persuasion while maintaining it over time. In the next chapter we will examine elements of what has been observed as an outburst of popular enthusiasm which expressed itself in many forms (e.g., saints' cults, popular preaching, pilgrimage, and heresy) to delineate the ways these developments impacted the emerging public voice.

¹¹⁹ Haseldine, "Friendship Networks in Medieval Europe" (2013), 71.

¹²⁰ Classen, "Friendship—the Quest for a Human Ideal and Value" (2010), 28.

Chapter 4

Heresy as the Public Challenge to Orthodoxy

Close on the heels of institutionalized church reform came heresy and a great expansion of the medieval public sphere.¹ Along with the enthusiastic crowds of the Peace Councils of the early eleventh century there appeared the shadow of potential resistance to church authority as the laity began to feel alienated by the monastic view of the best Christian life and turned more to the *vita apostolica* as a viable alternative to a smug and rigid hierarchical structure. Lay resistance threatened to disarm the ecclesiastical weapons of excommunication and interdict which counted upon personal anxiety and guilt as well as public opinion. Fear of the laity acting *en masse* became an incentive to use violence against heresy because assumptions were made that heresy was the partner of rebellion.² Even though heresy was passive at this stage, tending more toward radical asceticism and a retreat from the world rather than confronting it openly, the first public condemnation and burning of two secular clerics as heretics did occur in 1022 in Orléans.³

The eleventh-century rise of heresy appeared in an era of dynamic change that focused more and more on issues relevant to and subject to much wider public scrutiny. The centralization of papal and royal power, the emergence and rapid expansion of new religious orders and cults of saints, the popularity and enthusiasm for pilgrimage, and the launching of the crusades by the end of the century were all a part of that interaction of challenges to societal stability. This was also the millennial generation that was more aggressively seeking personal salvation, and change demanded explanation. If “the Church” could not provide the means of salvation, since it was now in the hands of evil and unchaste men as the message of reform was relating, then others might take advantage. As Lambert reminds us, it took two parties to create heresy, the dissi-

1 Regarding general agreement on the part of scholars regarding the relationship of heresy to popular enthusiasm and the failure of reform, see Moore, *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (1995), 27–28, and, *passim*. For comparisons of how questions of heresy among the three major world religions were preoccupied with issues of power, see Ames, *Medieval Heresies* (2015).

2 For major components of the overview in this chapter, see Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 20–55. Work on the Cathars for the first half of the twentieth century was well generalized by Borst, *Die Katharer* (1953). It is still useful for nuances of the overall development of the Cathars.

3 Frassetto, “The Heresy at Orleans in 1022” (2005).

dent and the Church to condemn the dissident, and these political and religious circumstances enhanced the breeding ground for both.⁴

In the general climate of resistance to centralizing ecclesiastical authority that was developing in the eleventh century, the prosperity of heresy per se in any region of Europe was still due to local circumstances.⁵ In Languedoc, for example, there was a chronic political anarchy that interfered with the role of the secular authority to suppress religious dissidence. As well, many of the local lords demonstrated a willingness to tolerate religious differences which allowed the anticlerical missionaries to gain ground in recruiting new members. Northern Italy became a “land of heresy *par excellence*” because of social dynamics, intellectual vitality, and the stubborn independence of the city-states which preferred to tolerate heretics rather than to cave into the ever-pressing efforts of bishops and the pope to control them. In Germany, the ongoing struggle between popes and kings, as well as the power struggles among the local nobility, left gaps in the identification and pursuit of heretics.

In contrast to the development of heresy on the continent, it did not arise in the wake of the Gregorian reform in England. A review of the homiletic literature from 960 to 1225 indicates a pre-Gregorian shift away from concern about doomsday to an emphasis being placed on reforming the behavior of the individual which might have opened England to heresy as elsewhere.⁶ However, local factors seemed to offset the separation of clergy from the lay population that occurred in southern France and Italy. In English towns, for example, there appears to have been a more intimate positive relationship between the clergy and the people which at least partly may explain the failure of heresy to take hold to the degree that it did elsewhere in Europe.⁷

Overall, the growth of lay literacy and popular enthusiasm offered new opportunities for the laity to play more important roles in society. With their new enlightened energies they were less willing to accept traditional roles assigned

4 Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 4–5.

5 For what follows on the evolution of heresy, see the more traditionally accepted overview by Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 6–7; 27–28. The most clearly articulated argument regarding the influence of local factors has been put forth by Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France* (2005). She offers a significant review of most of the modern studies of heresy in presenting a thesis that demands reconsideration of the literature that has argued against the influence of Manicheism on heresy in southern France.

6 Greenfield, “Changing Emphases in English Vernacular Homiletic Literature” (1981); and, Howard, “Before the Coming of Popular Heresy” (2005), who asserts that historians of that era in England spoke very seldom of heresy because they lacked both knowledge and interest in the issues.

7 Brooke, “The Missionary at Home” (1970).

to them as the clergy began to redefine society as constructed along the bipolar lines of the clergy and the lay. The rigid nature of the Gregorian reform also helps to explain why heresy offered such attractive alternatives to a wider range of the laity. As Janet Nelson pointed out over forty years ago, heresy in the twelfth century was “anti-structural.”⁸ Thus, obedience became a key issue. Monks with the most stringent disciplinary codes often led the break with structure. Female participation in the formal religious organizations, even monasticism which had been a key aspect of their lives since the days of Anglo-Saxon missionary efforts in the eighth century, was diminished greatly. The development of education after 1050 eventually enabled the lay population to become capable of doctrinal examination.⁹ Though heresy after 1100 focused more on practical matters and the offering of a simpler path to individual salvation, mainly through the *vita apostolica*, the added lay potential for direct access to Scripture opened the audience for the further public spread of heresy.

But what was “heresy”? The term itself is derived from the Greek “haeresis,” meaning basically choice and/or a school of thought or intellectual tendency.¹⁰ In the Latin Vulgate version of the New Testament “haeresis” was defined as a sect or its doctrine, and by the seventh century it already appeared to be taking on pejorative overtones as noted in the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636), where he cited the Greek etymology of the term, and worried that those who contemplate the “perverse dogma” of their choice will “recede from the Church of their own will.”¹¹ Its vagueness probably accounts for its delay in appearance in canon law until the time of Gratian, who discussed heresy and its ramifications in Causa 24 of his *Decretum* (ca. 1140–1150), but did not clearly define it or advance any approach to dealing with it. Gratian relied upon the authority of Jerome and Augustine to support the notion of the key to heresy being choice, indicating that a person who chooses to accept and follow a teaching which leads to another understanding of Scripture than that guided by the Holy Spirit can be called a heretic.¹² Finally, and most explicitly, Robert Grosseteste (ca. 1175–1253), as the stern disciplinary Bishop of Lincoln after 1235, stated that heresy is “an opinion chosen by

⁸ Nelson, “Society, Theodicy and the Origins of Medieval Heresy” (1972).

⁹ Nelson, “Society, Theodicy and the Origins of Medieval Heresy” (1972), 74.

¹⁰ For the following overview in detail, see Kilcullen, “The Medieval Concept of Heresy,” http://www.mq.edu.au/about_us/faculties_and_departments/faculty, last accessed 5/30/15. See also Gratian, *Decretum*, C.24, q. 3, cc. 27–31, *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Aemilius Friedburg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879–81), I, cols. 997–98.

¹¹ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, VIII.3, cited in *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*, ed. and trans. Peters (1980), 49. Also, see Russell, *Dissent and Order in the Middle Ages* (1992), 2.

¹² On the relationship between the Cathar heresy and the act of choice, see Roach, *The Devil's World* (2005).

human perception contrary to Holy Scripture, publicly avowed and obstinately defended.”¹³ This view seems best to reflect what we know of the actual experience of heresy throughout the period under review here. To be a “heretic” meant an adverse choice publicly acknowledged and publicly defended.

As Jeffrey Russell has reminded us, it is fair to point out that throughout the history of medieval Christianity we can take note of a tension between dissent and order, and that this was both inevitable and creative as ecclesiastical leaders responded to various challenges to their authority.¹⁴ Up to the late twelfth century, questioning of orthodoxy was natural in a time when there were not so many parameters around the faith. However, this dynamic could not be tolerated forever, especially in an “age of the formation of communities par excellence.”¹⁵ New monastic orders were forming, along with various guilds, communes, and new villages that sprung up along the newly expanding trade routes. As lay literacy spread along these channels, new ideas came to be based on Scriptural texts that were preached from and studied in small groups, or what Brian Stock defined as “textual communities.”

There were three essential components in the development of these communities. First, was the “text,” which did not have to be written; it could be an oral version, or a text from memory, or even a performance. Second, and key to the formation of a community, whether it be a monastic, a third order, or a “heretical” form, was the role of the interpreter who mastered the text, and “utilized it for reforming a group’s thought and action.”¹⁶ In the hands of skilled, charismatic even, preachers those ideas could lead to heretical communities that threatened the Church by resisting its authority in several ways. And finally, there had to be a “public,” that is a group of individuals who were drawn together by the text and its interpreter.¹⁷ For example, at Arras in the 1020s, texts on baptism were being interpreted by literate laymen to reject infant baptism on the grounds that the text of Scripture did not validate it. This effort by laymen to insist on adult responsibility on the part of individuals marked a new intellectual challenge to clerical authority.¹⁸

13 Quoted in Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry (1880), V: 400. Recent scholarship has argued that this view overemphasizes intention and public affirmation, and prefers to see, as Shannon McSheffrey states in her “Heresy, Orthodoxy and English Vernacular Religion” (2005), 47, that: “Heresy resided in the minds of its prosecutors rather than in the intentions of the accused.” Also, see Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels* (2001), esp. 15–19, 141–51; and Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012).

14 Russell, *Dissent and Order in the Middle Ages* (1992), 1.

15 Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 28.

16 Stock, *The Implication of Literacy* (1983), 90.

17 Stock, “Medieval Literacy, Linguistic Theory and Social Organization” (1984), 17–18.

18 Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 31.

Although not explicitly defined until the twelfth century, the public specter of heresy had reappeared in the early eleventh. There were several aspects that help to account for its rise. One highly debated factor has been the question of literacy, which assumes a major role in the modern debate over the nature and function of the public sphere because of the assumption that the public sphere originated in the elite literate society.¹⁹ But was this relevant in the medieval context of the evolution of heresy? It appears so. Beginning with a study of the latter stages of the Carolingian empire by Janet Nelson, for example, a distinction between active and passive literacy was detected. Nelson suggested that a passive literacy was illustrated by free or freedman landholders who were not learned in Latin, but who had a knowledge of Scripture and could read and write.²⁰ She argues that their descendants were finding themselves overwhelmed by the process of signification in the late tenth and early eleventh century. As their lands were being confiscated, these “passive literates” became the disenchanting targets of wandering preachers, while the elite literates cast aspersions on the passive literate “heretics” or “illiterati” as the latter listened and absorbed the messages of those modeling the *vita apostolica*. As obscure, passive, and as spotty as was the idea of “heresy” in this period, the idea of its return to Christian society did cause fear of the loss of membership in the Church as Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636) had pointed out much earlier. But it also presented political opportunity within society. More often than not, because of the corruption of simony and clerical marriage among the clergy, ecclesiastical leaders at the local level were reluctant to pursue it. This opened the door for secular authorities to use that fear, as in the cases at Orléans and Arras, to label political enemies as heretics in order to intimidate or eliminate them. However, for whatever reasons, ‘heresy,’ or at least the attention to it, retreated after Arras and did not re-emerge again as a serious threat until the mid-twelfth century, when heretics became much more open and “aggressive” in their insistence on changes in doctrine and practice.²¹

By the twelfth century, when heresy became a major threat in the minds of ecclesiastical authorities, the issue of literacy became more pertinent. With the rise of literacy among the laity and a corresponding lack of it among the clergy, it became somewhat commonplace to compare the skill of heretical preachers to

19 Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (1992), 2, 12–15, and *passim*. For example, “Anyone with access to cultural products—books, plays, journals—had at least a potential claim on the attention of the culture-debating public (12).”

20 Moore, “Literacy and the Making of Heresy” (1994), 33, citing Nelson, “Literacy in Carolingian Government” (1990), 269.

21 Moore, “Literacy and the Making of Heresy” (1994), 32–35, for details on the overview just related.

adopt vernacular texts and articulate speech to meet the expectations of audiences hungry for spiritual nourishment with the lack of such skill among the orthodox clergy.²² Although the bishops fought back by casting the itinerant preachers as “*illiterati*,” those same preachers manipulated the public forum to turn that *topos* around by comparing themselves to the apostles and by linking literacy with the powerful and uncaring hierarchy of the Church. In fact, those such as Alain de Lille who studied the itinerant preachers of the Cathars more carefully, remarked that they appeared very learned.²³

The question of how to characterize the heretic within the framework of literacy became an issue of social construction.²⁴ The “heretic” was now being seen as a threat capable of challenging the traditional monopoly of the clergy over textual communities which had been the domain of the learned monks.²⁵ Also, with the opening of the public sphere to learned itinerant preachers who could command an audience of their own based on the imitation of the *vita apostolica*, another aspect of the monopoly of the ideals of the ascetic lifestyle of the monks was being publicly challenged. Thus, the stereotype of the illiterate preacher no longer remained an effective way to cast aside their potential for meeting the needs of the *populus*. This came to light, for example, in the early twelfth century when Bishop Hildebert of Le Mans (ca. 1055–1133) tried to rid his diocese of the itinerant preacher Henry of Lausanne (an apostate monk, also known as Henry the Monk; fl. 1116–d. 1148). In 1116 Henry had received permission to preach in Le Mans, but his vigorous and articulate attacks on the abuses by the wealthy cathedral clergy were so popular that the faithful threatened to overturn the bishop himself. Here we find an example of a zealous reformer challenging not a tenet of the faith, but the authority of the clergy. Henry was not only articulate, he was learned, and his attack on the clergy came from a theology that rejected “large and abstract structures of authority in favor of those firmly rooted in the community itself.”²⁶

In his analysis of the conflict between Hildebert and Henry, Moore refers to the distinctions between “little” and “great” communities that are important as we try to

22 Biller, “Heresy and Literacy” (1994), 9.

23 Biller, “Heresy and Literacy” (1994), 6.

24 Moore, “Literacy and the Making of Heresy” (1994), 25.

25 On the growth of popular heresy in response to widespread dissatisfaction with the day-to-day practices of the clerical establishment and the growing felt need of a humbler more exacting spiritual lifestyle modeled on the monastic reform, see Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (1977), 4–45, 52.

26 Moore, “Literacy and the Making of Heresy” (1994), 29.

understand the functioning of the public sphere in medieval culture. The “little community” is seen as being a new social organization identified with the village and the parish tied to local values associated with the local church, its patron saint and its courtyard and cemetery. Key to cementing the relationship among the members of this community was the local priest. In the minds of the parishioners, as witnessed in their protests against clerical marriage and simony, the ties between priest and the local parish were being broken “at a time when the community more and more felt the need of his services as a free and independent leader and arbitrator.”²⁷ Moore argued that the “little community” did not develop by accident. Indeed, it was a byproduct of the patrilineal society that passed on property to the oldest male heir and excluded people who might otherwise have had a share. In order to protect and enhance property, the knights of society provided gifts to the Church and thus bound themselves into a growing “great community.” This system of patronage resulted in an “absolute gulf between the fighting man and any, even the most prosperous, peasant.”²⁸

Important for our understudying of the developing public sphere is Moore’s attention to the formation of a community identity to which those seeking to control public space could appeal. There is no one ‘public’ here; there are many publics. When itinerant preachers sought to reach out, they had to be aware of varied interests. In the case above, Hildebert was likely just as interested in reform of the ills of the wealthy clergy as Henry, but he represented that community, which in this case was the “great” which was composed of both lay and clerical elites. On the other hand, Henry sought to serve the “little” community which was feeling abused by the “great.” Hildebert was worried because even after Henry left Le Mans he continued to preach and disrupt clerical authority throughout southern France. Even Bernard of Clairvaux recognized Henry’s preaching as a literate threat to the great community itself. Thus he wrote in Epistle 241 that “Churches are without people, people without priests[...]. Unhappy people! At the voice of one heretic you close your ears to all the prophets and apostles [...] .”²⁹ Going forward it became the practice for members of the “great community” to use accusations of “heresy” to try to isolate and discipline the leaders of the “little community.”³⁰

²⁷ Moore, *The First European Revolution* (2000), 62. For analysis of Moore’s contributions to the understanding of the “Little Community,” see Peters, “Moore’s Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries” (2006), esp. 22–24.

²⁸ Peters, “Moore’s Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries” (2006), 23.

²⁹ Moore, “Literacy and the Making of Heresy” (1994), 30, quoting *Ep. ccxli, PL 182, col. 434*; translation Moore’s.

³⁰ Moore, “Afterthoughts on the Origins of European Dissent” (2006), 320.

By this time it had become clearer that the threat from heresy was not from the illiterate common people as perhaps earlier hoped. Now the battle in the public sphere was being waged by those with some common abilities. The spreading of ideas had many literate (whether passive or active) outlets other than preaching. Interested parties could read the writings of the dissidents, as well as talk with families who had adopted the new ways or even ironically learn about their beliefs by listening to anti-heretical sermons that spoke of their beliefs.³¹ Despite this reality, episcopal authorities continued to label heretics who were from the lay community as “*illiterati*” because they were laymen. In Italy, the duplicity of this is often found in texts where those in opposition to the clergy were stereotyped as “*ignorantes*” in part of the text, while later their preachers were accused of resorting to *sophism*, that is, cunning artifice associated with the learned, in order to influence their audiences.³² Regardless of how they were labeled, the Cathars seemed to come well prepared for public confrontations; they studied the Bible and perhaps even had collections of authorities to cite in the debate.³³

In the previous chapter we reviewed the implications of ecclesiastical reform for the development of the public sphere. Here we note the connections between heresy and reform.³⁴ Research in the past thirty years has revealed how the reform program of Gregory VII established ideals that were impossible to achieve at the same time that laymen were beginning to take the vision of reform to mean the establishment of a much simpler spiritual life, the *vita apostolica*. Early in his pontificate, groups like the Patarenes in Milan were supporters of Gregory while zealously pursuing a more radical concept of the same reform platform. At first the pope was able to work with them, but as the reform became more narrow and clerical in its focus the clergy and laity were moved apart. After Gregory's death in 1085 the program continued, but by the time of the Concordat of Worms (1122) it had become so inward looking and minutiae bound, that the lay communities seeking improvement were drawn more toward an alternative spiritual lifestyle that would be denounced as heresy.

Based on the failure of Gregorian reform to sustain its initial success, which may account for the lack of heretical episodes after the 1020s, the door for dissident views was opened wider. Moore even suggested that papal reform had been the “first public event that everybody knew about.”³⁵ It is arguable that

31 Biller, “The Cathars of Languedoc” (1994), 61. Also, see Biller, “The *Topos* and Reality of the Heretic as *Illiteratus*” (1994).

32 Paolini, “Italian Catharism and Written Culture” (1994), 84.

33 Paolini, “Italian Catharism and Written Culture” (1994), 92.

34 For more on what follows, see Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 37–44.

35 Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (1977), 53.

the clergy did not understand what was happening around it, and this is believable given the lack of structure within heresy itself. By 1095 and the launching of the First Crusade there had been increased contact with ideas from the East, but the more clearly formulated precepts of the Cathars did not appear in the West until about forty years later. Meanwhile monks devoted to asceticism began to appear as itinerant preachers devoted to preaching among the “lost” souls, including parish clergy and prostitutes among others who felt neglected by the reformed Church. Robert of Arbrissel (1045–1116) and Norbert of Xanten (1080–1134) illustrated common threads in their missions, including charismatic preaching, the love of poverty, and the rejection of certain kinds of property. They were so popular among the crowds drawn to listen that they were pressured to found new orders such as the Premonstratensians established by Norbert in 1120.³⁶ The elements of the *vita apostolica* exhibited by these orthodox preachers became a common theme within the elements of the more famous heretical movements of the twelfth century, namely the Cathars and the Waldensians. Thus, acceptable reform, as well as unacceptable “theologically unformed protest,” developed along similar lines in reaction to the wealth being accumulated by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Whereas Norbert and Robert were welcomed within the fold, the itinerant preaching in southern France beyond Le Mans by Henry (“the Monk”) to welcoming audiences was deemed a threat to the authority of the bishop and the Church at large.³⁷ Others were active and began to reach very diverse publics, including the peasants of society as in the case of the erratic messianic preacher Éon (Eudo) de l’Étoile (d. 1150).³⁸ In other words, by the early twelfth century the medieval public sphere had become much more open. There were common concerns that drew interest from across Europe, preaching to large crowds was becoming “normal,” and ideas about the ideal Christian community were being disputed.

In the early stages, feeling that the dissidents could be persuaded to return to the faith if publicly embarrassed in open disputation, ecclesiastical leaders took a more charitable and open approach. In southern France which would become the heartland of the Cathars, for example, a meeting was held in 1165 at the castle of Lombers near Albi with the purpose of a debate between local heretical leaders and representatives of the orthodox point of view. The event was well attended by both lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries, including the archbishop of Narbonne, the viscount of Béziers, and Constance, countess of Toulouse

³⁶ Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 40. Also, see Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 109–31.

³⁷ Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 44.

³⁸ Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 54.

and sister of the king of France.³⁹ According to a report of the encounter, it did not go well for those calling themselves “boni homines” and they were pronounced guilty of heresy. But what is especially noteworthy in the evolution of the medieval public sphere was that, upon hearing the judgment of the presiding bishop of Lodève, and

seeing themselves [...] to be convicted, and confounded, they turned themselves to *all the people*, saying “Hear, O good men, our faith, which we confess—we now confess out of love to you, and for your sakes.

The aforesaid bishop replied, ‘You do not say that you will speak for the Lord’s sake, but for the *sake of the people*.’⁴⁰ We do not know for sure what was meant by the “people” in this report. Was it those in attendance only, or was it, as I think more likely, a reflection upon the growing recognition of the broader masses of the population who were struggling to claim a larger role in defining the common good?

Public preaching was the keystone to the development and spread of heresy as well as to its refutation. In fact, the very right to preach was at issue with the Waldensians, whose founder Peter Valdes (ca. 1140–ca. 1205) sought official permission from Pope Alexander III (r. 1159–1181) in 1179 to preach as a layman. By 1170 Peter had given over his wealth earned as a merchant in Lyons to practice the apostolic life of poverty and his preaching had already gained a significant number of followers. A major source for our understanding of the beliefs of the Waldensians is the *Passau Anonymous*, an evenly balanced text authored perhaps by a Dominican or a secular priest in the thirteenth century, that also provides insight regarding the growing sense of the ‘people,’ and how that awareness could influence the development of ideas. The *Anonymous* tells us that there are six causes of heresy, the second of which “is that men and women, great and lesser, day and night, do not cease to learn and teach; the workman who labors all day teaches or learns at night.”⁴¹ The third cause, he continues, is “that they have translated the Old and New Testaments into the vulgar tongue[...] [but] since they were illiterate laypeople they expounded scripture falsely and corruptly.”⁴² The fourth cause of their heresy includes correcting peo-

³⁹ Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 58.

⁴⁰ This translation of the account is found in *Heresy and Authority*, ed. with intro. Peters (1980), 120; emphasis mine.

⁴¹ *Heresy and Authority*, ed. with intro. Peters (1980), 150.

⁴² *Heresy and Authority* (1980), 151. In this case “illiterate” is used to denote their lay status as opposed to clerical.

ple who do not live according to the life of the apostles, thus suggesting public scrutiny of lifestyles within the public sphere.⁴³ Finally, the *Anonymous* concludes by observing how public and widespread the heretics were becoming:

In all the cities of Lombardy and the province of Provence, and in other kingdoms and lands, there are more schools of the heretics than of theologians, and they have more hearers; they *debated publicly and they convoked the people to solemn disputations in fields and forums*, and they preached in houses, nor was there anyone who dared to stop them, on account of the *power and number of their sympathizers*.⁴⁴

Here the question of the influence of literacy rises. Moore has argued that, “Nervousness of heresy tended to exaggerate its power and sophistication.”⁴⁵ A lot of the anxiety centered on lay literates gaining access to Scriptures and so often the clerical approach was to label the heretics as “*illiterati*” in the effort to marginalize them and neutralize their influence. Even though it was written a generation after the events described, this account, however exaggerated it might have been, likely reflects this growing anxiety of clerical communities in the late twelfth century that led the ecclesiastical hierarchy to decide to move away from its position of relative tolerance.

The forbearance of lay preaching by secular lords had further exacerbated ecclesiastical efforts to deal with heresy from a “supra-national point of view.”⁴⁶ Thus, at the Third Lateran Council of 1179, the hierarchy condemned some of the views of Valdes, though they did not yet excommunicate him. But the text of Canon 27 of the council took on an ominous tone regarding the “perversity of heretics” that they now identified as “Cathari,” who “practice their wickedness no longer in secret as some do, but *they preach their error publicly* and thus mislead the simple and the weak.”⁴⁷ From this point forward, the attention given to preaching in public illustrates the concern of “the Church” that it might be losing the battle for control of public opinion and public influence. The rhetoric as well as the actions of the papal curia five years later at Verona clearly seem to reflect that point of view.

The action at Lateran III did not persuade Valdes to forego his views and so he was condemned again and excommunicated by Pope Lucius III (r. 1181–1185), who at Verona in 1184 also issued the papal bull *Ad abolendam* with the cooperation of the Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in an attempt to suppress heresy

⁴³ *Heresy and Authority* (1980), 151.

⁴⁴ *Heresy and Authority*, ed. with intro. Peters (1980), 152; emphasis mine.

⁴⁵ Moore, “Literacy and the Making of Heresy” (1994), 23.

⁴⁶ Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 66.

⁴⁷ *Heresy and Authority*, ed. with intro. Peters (1980), 169; emphasis mine.

throughout Christendom by coercion rather than persuasion. The bull called for a vigorous and systematic pursuit of heresy by all bishops; it was no longer left up to local discretion.⁴⁸ The Cathari, Patarini, Humiliati, Poor Men of Lyons (Waldensians) and other sects were specifically condemned “under a perpetual anathema” with special attention paid to the dangers of their

[...] having assumed to themselves the office of preaching—though the same apostle says ‘How shall they preach except they be sent?’ —we include, in the same perpetual anathema, all who shall have presumed to preach, either publicly or privately, either being forbidden, or not sent, or not having the authority of the Apostolic See or of the bishop of the diocese.⁴⁹

Preaching in public and disobedience to ecclesiastical authority became the touchstones. Those who violated the mandates were deprived of the services of the churches, excommunicated from the community of the people. Anyone in public office who did not assist in the process of pursuing the heretics vigorously, was subject to excommunication as well. Thus, public shame was called upon in the effort to control the public sphere.

Verona illustrates what might be termed the “tug-of-war” between lay and ecclesiastical elements in the evolution of religious enthusiasm and power surrounding heresy. Maureen Miller has argued that the dynamics of change from 950 to 1150 were not due so much to outside pressure from the Church as to a “general quickening of the spirit” due to local conditions.⁵⁰ In attempting to answer the question as to what extent the actions of the laity were able to influence ecclesiastical reform, she noted first of all that at least in Verona it is difficult to separate the two into very distinct groups. Second, by examining the pattern of lay donations to the church she was able to determine that the first goal of the laity was to obtain prayers for the good of their souls, while the second was to provide for better training of the clergy. She detected at best an ambivalent interest in any form of innovative dissent, and by the twelfth century there had been much cooperation among lay and clerical elements on behalf of an enhanced spiritual climate. However, this began to break down, and by the time of the Council at Verona in 1184 it was destroyed by the condemnation of several lay initiatives as heretical.⁵¹

Despite this aggressive response, the politics of communal struggles and the sapping of ecclesiastical energies in the Investiture Contest had destroyed the

⁴⁸ Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 66–67.

⁴⁹ *Heresy and Authority*, ed. with intro. Peters (1980), 171.

⁵⁰ Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church* (1993), 177.

⁵¹ Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church* (1993), 113–115.

ability of the bishops to control potential heretics who played on the demonstration of independence from episcopal control.⁵² Ironically, the attempt to suppress local autonomy, rather than grant it as had been the case of Cluny, only led to the widening influence of heresy and a greater need to suppress it. A turning point in the ecclesiastical attempt to control the public sphere had arrived in 1184 and it sheds some further light on the nature of the struggle between what scholars have termed the “little” and the “great” (or “large”) communities in this era.

In the dynamics of “first European revolution” Moore describes the “little” communities as those of the rising class of producers whose focus was within a less differentiated structure which communicated at a level of local exchange. In contrast, the “great” community is more sharply differentiated along a somewhat stereotyped division of the so-called three orders of society, that is, within the “great” two of the orders share a more cosmopolitan culture through which they are able to maintain an effective hegemony over both communities.⁵³ In the era of the Peace of God and the eleventh-century papal reform Moore argues that the “textual community” of the clerics came to monopolize the great community and were defending it against the upstart little community which was challenging the traditional Church for a place in the metaphorical public sphere of power. As the Peace and the reform efforts came to be deemed failures in the eyes of ‘the people,’ both ‘the Church’ and ‘the people’ began to see that they had opposing expectations—the people to overthrow the oppression of the lords; the Church to insure that it maintained control in collaboration with the secular lords.⁵⁴

Another aspect of the relationship of reform to heresy is found in examining the spread of the Cathars from the Rhineland to Languedoc in the mid-twelfth century.⁵⁵ Gregorian reforms had raised lay expectations for dealing with clerical corruption and absenteeism at the parish level. When those hopes were not met, the *populus* looked for other alternatives. The region was known for its tolerance of different points of view and certain parts of it became attracted away from hierarchical Christianity toward the *vita apostolica*. Here heresy was not defined by doctrine; the appeal was practical, following the model of wandering preachers

52 Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 79.

53 This is a significant part of Moore’s construct of the revolution of European society that began in the eleventh century and transformed Europe into a reorganized countryside that now redefined and reorganized the old nobility so as to allow it, in cooperation with the reformed Church, to dominate the peasantry. See Moore, *The First European Revolution* (2000). Also, see his “Literacy and the Making of Heresy” (1994), 26–27.

54 Moore, “Literacy and the Making of Heresy” (1994), 27; and, Bartlett, *The Making of Europe* (1993), 244.

55 For what follows, see Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 83–87.

who lived in poverty themselves and drew crowds to listen to their public preaching. Apparently, the clergy of the Midi lacked either the ability or the “resources to put effective obstacles in the way of heretical preachers.”⁵⁶

It was in this combination of circumstances that heretical sects grew, not only in southern France, but also in Germany and northern Italy. Some, like the Cathars, became more traditional because they developed both ritual and some organization. In Toulouse, it has been suggested that they nearly replaced the Catholic Church.⁵⁷ The evangelical movements such as the Waldensians continued to grow and to remain strong because of their lifestyle and because they developed translations of Scripture into the vernacular languages. By the end of the twelfth century, the publicness of the successful activities of heretics only heightened the fear by the papacy that it might lose the total control of Christendom that Gregorian reformers had sought. It appears that this fear was justified. As Moore speculates, it is “probable that the period between the Third Lateran Council of 1179 [...] and the Fourth in 1215 saw the most rapid diffusion of popular heresy that Western Europe had yet experienced.”⁵⁸ Although Innocent had been willing to experiment with ways to incorporate the deviants back into the Church, “the weight of traditional opinion and influence” was brought “to bear against the continuation of such policies.”⁵⁹

Most recently this papal response to deviance has been called “The War on Heresy.”⁶⁰ It began as early as 1163 when the authorization for the burning of heretics had become common, but the call to proceed systematically and with violence as needed steadily became louder until the time of Innocent III (r. 1198–1216), who in 1199 equated heresy with treason, just as the Emperor Justinian (r. 527–565) had done in his codification of Roman law in 534.⁶¹ The power of the papacy had grown rapidly in the last half of the twelfth century following the end of the papal schism that had begun with the reform program of Gregory VII. Innocent presided over a political structure that encompassed most of western Europe and he used all the weapons in his arsenal to maintain control of that territory.⁶² While legal guardian for the young Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II,

⁵⁶ Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 83. For a bibliography on this topic, see 83, n. 66.

⁵⁷ Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 85.

⁵⁸ Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (1987), 23.

⁵⁹ Bolton, “Tradition and Temerity,” (1972), 79.

⁶⁰ Moore, *The War on Heresy* (2012), which is an elaboration on his earlier argument about the persecuting society. For a response that this view of the persecuting society is overstated, see *Heresy in Transition* (2005), 3.

⁶¹ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 8.

⁶² For what follows, Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 234–58.

the pope privileged his allies and excommunicated his enemies as “heretics,” and even, in the case of John of England, assumed feudal overlordship. But it also appears that even before becoming pope, Innocent came to believe that true heretics, especially those practicing dualism, represented the greatest threat to the Church. Upon his accession to the throne in 1198, he declared at a council in Verona that heretics should be excluded from participating in municipal elections or holding official positions. Continuing in 1199 he issued the bull *Vergentis in senium* addressed to the clergy and people of Viterbo that declared heresy a crime of high treason for which the property of heretics could be confiscated as the heretics would be declared *infamia*.⁶³ The significance of this papal action has been analyzed in modern times by Ullmann who argued that the crime of heresy was determined by Innocent III, a canon lawyer by training and drawing upon the category in Roman law for treason, to be a crime of *lèse majesté* against both divinity and the pope’s magisterial function. This meant that the heretic was impugning the sovereign of the Roman Church, the foundation of the *corpus Christi*, and thus committing a very *crimen publicum*.⁶⁴ The pope was resorting to Roman law to broaden the claim to control of the public sphere against those who would contest it from within.

In his attempt to deal with heresy on a broad scale, and recognizing the popularity of the apostolic life model, Innocent took other steps as well. To those who were religious enthusiasts he offered a way to return safely to the true church and he welcomed the *vita apostolica* option so long as adherents accepted the safeguards to orthodoxy. He also made an exception to the prohibition on the forming of new religious orders in responding to the request of Francis and Dominic to be able to live a life of poverty while preaching without the authorization of the local bishops. The importance of public preaching had become well-recognized by the time of Innocent. Perhaps he was even aware of the degree to which citations of the Cathar preaching had indicated growing public tolerance and/or support for their alternative form of Christianity.⁶⁵ Part of the rebuttal to that heresy had to come from more effective and persuasive preaching to lay audiences. Prior to Lateran IV in 1215, Innocent had worked with Jacques de Vitry among others to outline a reform of the religious orders in order to enlarge the number of preachers available for pastoral care. The works of Jacques, especially his *Historia Occidentalis*, reflect several ways in which the public nature of the challenge was recognized.⁶⁶ For example, the popular appeal of the

⁶³ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 235 and 238.

⁶⁴ Ullmann, “The Significance of Innocent III’s Decretal *Vergentis*” (1976), V: 730 and 738.

⁶⁵ Arnold, “The Preaching of the Cathars” (1998), 188–89.

⁶⁶ Bird, “The Religious’s Role in a Post-Fourth-Lateran World” (1998).

vita apostolica which had been a key part of the earlier monastic reform, and now had attracted many among the lay public, had to be taken into account by those trained to preach. Jacques came to see the friars as the best alternative to meet the challenge of combining the discipline of an ordered life with the role of a wandering preacher. They could live a life much like that of the original apostles in order to provide an appropriate model for delivering the appeal to orthodoxy in the thirteenth century.⁶⁷ In his *Ad status* sermons to the friars Jacques cautioned them to adhere closely to the model of Francis, but also recognized that a model lifestyle would not be enough. The preachers needed to be aware of the diversity of their lay audiences and be attentive to their needs as much as those of the clergy.⁶⁸ He urged that in preaching to the laity the friars should not criticize other clergy publicly; instead they should be literate and discreet while avoiding association with worldly courts that invite negative public scrutiny.⁶⁹ Though Innocent essentially agreed with Jacques regarding the importance of the reform of preaching, it was clear that the pope would not tolerate those who failed to respond or to submit to clerical authority. Therefore, he launched a crusade against the recalcitrants of southern France in 1209. Unfortunately this action undermined both ecclesiastical authority and the papal reputation in that region and elsewhere.⁷⁰

The successors of Innocent III followed likewise in the pursuit of heresy. By 1250 there were in place both a set of guiding principles and the machinery to repress systematically. With Gregory IX (r. 1227–1241), there was a major weapon introduced, namely the universal inquisition, with its special agents (the Dominicans) appointed to hunt down heretics throughout Christendom, and with full papal authority to supersede bishops who had proven unable to deal with heresy locally. In allowing an individual publicly to accuse another of heresy, the inquisition introduced a significant change in the use of the force of medieval public opinion. Whereas before the “fear of the public” was largely in the minds of the secular and ecclesiastical elite who remained wary of an uprising of the common people for one reason or another, now one could manipulate rumor and innuendo to enhance widespread public fear to force the identification of ‘heretics.’ As early as the mid-twelfth century, church councils (e.g. Reims in 1148) were mak-

67 Bird, “The Religious’s Role in a Post-Fourth-Lateran World” (1998), 219–20.

68 Bird, “The Religious’s Role in a Post-Fourth-Lateran World” (1998), 221–24.

69 Bird, “The Religious’s Role in a Post-Fourth-Lateran World” (1998), 221–22. For de Vitry’s counsel to the friars, Bird draws upon *Jacobi Vitriacensis Episcopi et Cardinalis (1180–1240), Sermones ad Fratres Minores*, ed. Felder (1903), a sermon against mitigation of voluntary poverty and against rebuking other clergy in public.

70 Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 92–93.

ing claims in their proceedings that heresy was “spreading among the *rustici*.”⁷¹ Accusations of heresy were used more and more in various dimensions of the public forum as a political force and played significant roles in political rivalries; they became both a “public force and a political menace.”⁷²

Consideration of this claim takes us back again into the early eleventh century. In the scholarly literature, there is often a distinction made between “popular” and “learned” heresy.⁷³ The former refers to movements characterized as evangelical and marked by popular dissent along the path to the inquisition. The latter refers to scholastic and intellectual views that were condemned as heretical. However, more recent analysis indicates that many of the accusations of heresy of the eleventh century, and even into the twelfth, actually originated as a political ploy in princely and royal courts. For example, Moore cites the trial at Orléans in 1024 as one based on contrived charges concocted by allies of the count of Blois.⁷⁴ Moving into the twelfth century, Moore turns to the public trials of Peter Abelard (ca. 1079–1142) and Gilbert de la Porrée (ca. 1085–1154) as illustrations of how public assemblies were used as forums for the battles of political rivals under the guise of dealing with accusations of heresy.⁷⁵ Both of these individuals were accused and both came up against the same “prosecutor,” Bernard of Clairvaux. In order to be independent in thinking, intellectuals had to have patrons. For Abelard, it was Stephen Garlande, and Stephen’s political enemy was William of Champeaux whom Abelard had bested in various public intellectual contests. William’s friends included Bernard and the powerful Abbot Suger of St. Denis. As Abelard’s views on the use of logic and various doctrines came into question, and Garlande’s favor at the royal court came to an end with the death of Louis VI, his enemies felt it was time to take Abelard to a trial at Sens in 1141. By arranging the trial procedure, Bernard managed to prevent Abelard from using his famous skills of rhetoric to publicly defend his views. Thus, he was embarrassed and forced to retreat from the public eye.

The forum at Sens catches our attention in relation to the public sphere for another reason. In a letter to Pope Innocent II, Bernard expressed concerns over being called to publicly defend the Church.⁷⁶ By 1145, however, Bernard would be fully drawn into the public quest against heresy as he embarked on a personal preaching

⁷¹ Moore, “Heresy as Politics” (2010), 43.

⁷² Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 29–30.

⁷³ For more on the details of what follows, see Moore, “Heresy as Politics” (2010), 33.

⁷⁴ Moore, “Heresy as Politics” (2010), 35, who summarizes the work of Bautier, “L’hérésie d’Orléans” (1970).

⁷⁵ Moore, “Heresy as Politics” (2010), 38–41.

⁷⁶ A copy of the text is found in *Heresy and Authority*, ed. with intro. Peters (1980), 87–90.

mission against various heretics in southern France.⁷⁷ Prior to Sens he had “thought it unfitting that the grounds of faith should be handed over to human reasonings [sic] for discussion” and that it was really up to the bishops to judge the writings of Abelard, which Bernard believed were enough to condemn him without public discussion. But, once the public trial had been set, he eventually

[...] yielded to the advice of my friends (although much against my will, and with tears), who saw how all were getting ready as if for a show, and they feared lest from my absence cause of offense should be given to the people and the horn of the adversary be exalted: and, since the error was likely to be strengthened if there were no one to answer or contradict it, I betook myself to the place appointed.⁷⁸

The letter reveals concerns related to literacy and the use of reason to deal with matters of faith. It also reflects the debate within the Church about how best to deal with the public arena for discussion of these matters, as well as who we should think of when there is reference to ‘the people.’ Finally, it illustrates the dilemma of the reform movement that began within the monastic cloister but was being drawn into the open for public debate. Not only were the Cistercians reluctant to enter the public arena, but well into the thirteenth century their critics, such as Jacques de Vitry, continued to chastise them for doing so.⁷⁹ It is clear that the perception of what heresy might mean and how it might affect broader ecclesiastical control placed a greater amount of power, at least temporarily, in the hands of the dissidents.

The complex nature of the struggle within the ecclesiastical community itself was revealed further when Bernard was not able to achieve a similar success against Gilbert de la Porrée in a public trial at Reims in 1148.⁸⁰ Bernard had sought to try Gilbert as a heretic based partly, if not solely, on Gilbert’s earlier refusal to condemn Abelard. This time Gilbert was allowed to speak in his own defense and, fortunately, able to confront the testimony of a student who had been responsible for the accusation of heresy based on notes he had taken during Gilbert’s lectures. Gilbert challenged his accuser and was able to show that the student’s version of what Gilbert had taught was falsely reported. Although the terms of settlement between Bernard and Gilbert were not reached in a public forum, there was an agreement reached in a manner reflecting the

77 Kienzle, “Tending the Lord’s Vineyard” (1995); and, Kienzle, “Defending the Lord’s Vineyard: Hildegard of Bingen’s Preaching Against the Cathars” (1998), 164–65.

78 *Heresy and Authority*, ed. with intro. Peters (1980), 89.

79 Bird, “The Religious’s Role” (1998), 215–19. Also, see Bolton, “*Vita Ascetica*: A Papal Quandary” (1985).

80 Moore, “Heresy as Politics” (2010), 40–41.

power of a political community. In a small assembly of churchmen and laymen, the vernacular language was used to communicate to the laymen to enable them to participate more fully as they all deliberated over the terms of settlement. As the ongoing struggle for control of the public mind proceeded thereafter, this traditional form of negotiated settlement among private parties in dealing with accusations of heresy was replaced with the process of *inquisitio* by mid-thirteenth century which allowed greater control by ecclesiastical authorities.⁸¹

The trial at Reims exhibited schizophrenic aspects of the evolution of the public sphere. On the one hand Gilbert was afforded the opportunity for a defense against public accusations in a public assembly. On the other, it was the last such assembly in which a noted master was able to defend himself before both clerks and laymen.⁸² Although it was attended by over 1100 archbishops, bishops and abbots, the council did not take measures to insure ongoing openness and dialogue with an increasingly restless lay community. Instead it enacted a measure against heretics that established a method to distinguish between “learned” and “popular heresy” while making “heresy” so general that it allowed local ecclesiastical authority to determine it. This opened the door to witch hunts. Moreover, it specifically denied those declared heretics the customary protection of locally powerful knights who had traditionally “hated clerics.”⁸³

In several ways the resolution of the “feud” between Gilbert and Bernard reflected aspects of conflict resolution in general during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁸⁴ The dispute did not begin with a killing, but it was a part of the political process in which the clerical establishment perceived itself in danger and used a public trial and a persuasive surrogate to defend itself. The participants were elite members of the clerical community connected with socio-political networks constituted of both clerical and lay members. The bitterness of the reported engagement suggests vengeance as a possible motive in the case of Bernard at least, but, as was often true in secular feuds, a negotiated truce brought a halt to the potentially deadly outcome.⁸⁵ In this case the “innovation” of church reform, namely the use of a well-attended church council in which both lay and clerical elements were present in order to confront alleged heresy, was trumped by a tra-

81 For elaboration on this change, see Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society* (1997), 21–22.

82 Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 153–55.

83 Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 155.

84 See for example, Stephen White, “Feuding and Peace-Making” (1986), with a bibliography on feuding, 195, n. 1. Also, see White’s articles on the subject dating from 1987 to 2003 in his *Feuding and Peace-Making in Eleventh-Century France* (2005).

85 White, “Feuding and Peace-Making” (1986), 202–203 and 206–207.

ditional method of resolving feuds. Ultimately, however, the ecclesiastical hierarchy was able to find better ways to use public space in dealing with heresy.

Reims must have been a major disappointment for the scholastic community as well as those wishing to defend themselves against accusations of heresy in a public forum with an opportunity to persuade the judges and the audience of the “correctness” of their views. By 1148, the papal curia had gotten past the internal discord of a papal schism following the death of Gregory VII and strengthened its central authority, but had to alter its earlier reform theme of the *vita apostolica* that had been co-opted by the heretics.⁸⁶ Moving beyond 1148 there was also a deliberate retreat from “learned heresy,” that is, of accusations of heresy against masters in the various schools of learning and theology.⁸⁷ Apparently, events of the 1140s had greatly elevated the angst that heresy trials might open further the opportunity for the unlearned to acquaint themselves with potential heretical views. Whereas before 1140, popular heresy had been local and limited, these public trials of skilled rhetoricians created the specter of heresy within a much larger framework than the sinister politics of the courts demonstrated in the early eleventh century. If “heretics” could get the best of skilled rhetoricians and ecclesiastical politicians such as Bernard, perhaps the heretics were offering a better alternative. However, there is some question as to whether heresy was really the threat the clergy made it out to be prior to 1140. The works of Guibert of Nogent, Herbert Losinga and Oderic Vitalis, for example, do not evidence much concern for heresy though they do reflect unsettling political and social instability. As well, the cases of heresy exposed in the period from 1120–1140 varied a great deal in their nature.⁸⁸ Regardless, there was an escalation of conciliar rhetoric warning against the spread of heresy in the 1140s; and, by 1163, violence and the burning (potential and actual) of the unrepentant sinners returned to the fore.

At the Council of Tours (1163) Pope Alexander III presided, and with the patronage of King Henry II of England, produced what Moore labels “probably the best example of a formal declaration of war on heresy.”⁸⁹ Provisions of the council mandated that all the clergy must be proactive in seeking out and eliminating heretics. Moore sees Henry’s involvement in the council as a quest for revenge for the earlier thwarting of his attempt to seize Toulouse and add it to his growing kingdom. He also points out that the council’s action laid the groundwork for the eventual crusade of 1209 against the Albigensians by characterizing Toulouse as

⁸⁶ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 143–44.

⁸⁷ Moore, “Heresy as Politics” (2010), 43.

⁸⁸ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 145–46.

⁸⁹ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 184.

a land dominated by heretics and encouraging the use of the inquisitional processes to root them out. The stigmatization of lands south of the Loire had been a regular part of the politics of Plantagenet expansion and the widespread propaganda of English chroniclers in support of Henry II. Influenced by Robert of Torigni (ca. 1110–1186), the abbot of Mont St. Michel in Normandy who had written in 1152 that the “pernicious teaching” of the heretic Henry “the Monk” had taken root in Gascony, subsequent accounts among English writers in the late twelfth century followed suit. Thus, for the English public, southern France was stereotyped as a center of heretics.⁹⁰

In 1178, instead of any military action by Henry II of England or Louis VII of France, a papal mission was led by Henri de Marcy (ca. 1136–1189), the abbot of Cîteaux, as head of a papal legation to the region with its objective to enhance the use of public confessions of heresy to embarrass the Cathars and make more forceful the “war on heresy.” Chronicle sources that tell us most of what we know are mostly English. Often, as per the example of Roger Howden (fl. 1174–1201) who was a trusted personal friend of Henry, they carry that bias noted above.⁹¹ What we can observe in reading the sources for our purposes in this study, however, is the description of “public hearings,” “public penance,” and “public humiliation.”

Mary Mansfield’s study of medieval humiliation for political reasons illustrates how public penance was “originally a one-sided punishment that united the community not by reconciling the loser but precisely by his *humiliation in front of everyone else*.”⁹² The attempt to reform confession and penance by making it private did not eliminate the value of shame to bring about a change in behavior. In fact, the practice of public penance continued in the public sphere even after the command of Lateran IV for private confession at least once per year. The issue of reputation continued at the center of the struggle between the secular and ecclesiastical courts over jurisdiction in matters of the public penance as the Christian community still felt the need to “make divine justice visible here on earth.”⁹³ In this case the dispute over whether contrition and retribution were best obtained in private or public raised a question that continues to plague the modern world as well; namely, what is properly “public”? The medieval world phrased the question and its answer slightly differently as the post-Lateran IV pontificals provided a Lenten rite of penance “that allowed a collec-

90 On the views of English writers about southern France in the late twelfth century, see Gillingham, “Events and Opinion” (2005).

91 Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 193, 197–98.

92 Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners* (1995), 266.

93 Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 290.

tive observance of contrition without the communal emphasis on purifying the many through the expiation of the few.”⁹⁴

This theme of the fear of public actions and the need for public responses to heresy was particularly emphatic in the calling for Lateran III in 1179:

[...] the loathsome heresy of those whom some call the Cathars, others the Patarenes, others the Publicani [...] has grown so strong that they *no longer practice their wickedness in secret, as others do, but proclaim their error publicly* and draw the simple and the weak to join them, we declare that they and their defenders and those who receive them are under *anathema*.⁹⁵

Thus the battleground is clearly defined as the public sphere. Those who practice openly are the target. As well, those who defend or even shelter them out of tolerance or Christian charity are to be publicly excluded from the Church.

In 1184, with the issuance of *Ad abolendam*, the process of the inquisition was set in place and there was no turning back from the use of intimidation and force against suspected heretics. Bishops who did not actively pursue heretics could be suspended for three years. At least once every year each parish that was reported to have heretics was subjected to a visit from the bishop or his delegates in which a process was conducted according to the following formula:

[...] *two or three men of good credit*, or, if need be, *the whole neighborhood*, [are] to swear that if they know of any heretics there, or any who go to private meetings, or differ from their normal habits of the faithful in their demeanor or way of life, they will point them out to the bishop or the archdeacon.⁹⁶

Although torture was not yet officially authorized, the implications of the bull must have been clear to those who issued it, as well to those who came under its scrutiny. We also note here the calling upon reputation, rumor, deviation from the public norms, and community force in order to squeeze out the public affirmations of beliefs perhaps heretofore only held in private. Whereas before Lateran III in 1179 heresy had been recognized as a general but not clearly-defined threat, by naming specific elements (e.g., Cathars) in the canons of that council, the papal curia now acknowledged it as “public threat” to the whole

⁹⁴ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 291.

⁹⁵ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 205; translation is that of Peters in *Heresy and Authority* (1980), 168–70; emphasis mine.

⁹⁶ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 205; using *Heresy and Authority*, ed. with intro. Peters (1980), 170–73; emphasis mine.

of Christendom.⁹⁷ With *Ad abolendam* it sought an even better way to deal with this new recognition.

Force did not resolve the issue, nor did it achieve fundamental reform of the ills caused by the growing wealth and power of the clergy. By the early thirteenth century heresy continued to expand, with Catharism as its major sect.⁹⁸ Although the Cathars seemed to attract all classes in Languedoc, the greatest number was drawn from the lesser nobility, wherein family influence and the appeal to women played key roles in its expansion. Women became openly active and especially effective recruiters, particularly among widows and otherwise marginalized members of society who could be taken safely into the homes of female Cathars.⁹⁹ In Italy, members of the merchant class and craftsmen of the urban world were drawn to the informal and open preaching of the Cathars. The preachers were effective by comparing the sins of the clergy with the ideals established in the gospels. By choosing to use a simple “exegesis” of Scripture they could illustrate how the cruel evils of the everyday world must be due to the work of the devil. This basic dualism appealed to the inherent Italian skepticism about the validity of the teachings of ‘the Church.’ This approach also facilitated the patronage of the lay aristocrats who remained hostile to the intrusions of the clerical hierarchy.¹⁰⁰

In Germany opposition to the Cathars began as early as 1143 when the Premonstratensian Everwin of Steinfeld wrote to Bernard of Clairvaux describing the characteristics of a sect detected in Cologne and seeking Bernard’s advice about how to deal with them. In great detail Everwin highlighted their hierarchical structure of auditors, believers and elect, as well their practices. They were already gaining converts by way of itinerant preaching and an ascetic lifestyle that was contrasted favorably in opposition to that of the wayward Catholic clergy. Based upon the testimony of some members of the sect who had abjured, but asserted that the heresy was widespread, Everwin became concerned that they would gain many more converts.¹⁰¹ The threat was perceived to be so real that the charismatic prophetess Hildegard of Bingen received papal permission to

⁹⁷ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 208.

⁹⁸ On the modern historiography of the Cathars, see Moore, “The Cathar Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem” (2015).

⁹⁹ Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 112–114.

¹⁰⁰ Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 118–19.

¹⁰¹ Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars* (1998), 63.

write and preach against them because she was deemed to be the most likely effective public voice.¹⁰²

Eckbert of Schonau, brother and secretary to the visionary nun Elisabeth,¹⁰³ then joined the fight and compiled thirteen sermons to be used by those who tried to defend the Church against the Cathars. What is significant here is that he made three claims that helped shape the western construct of heresy for over a century thereafter. First of all, Eckbert stated that this heresy was part of a single sect that was being spread widely; second, that it was extremely secretive, but still able to corrupt many, thus endangering the whole Church; and third, that these heretics aver that “all flesh is made by the devil,” and that “Christ was not truly born of the Virgin and not of human flesh.”¹⁰⁴ To this set of claims pejoratively etching the sect in the public mind, Eckbert also applied the term “Cathar” indiscriminately, as have modern scholars.¹⁰⁵ All of these techniques are a part of the modern strategies for applying othering propaganda to influence public opinion.

In the ongoing attempt to maintain the loyalty of the faithful, charismatic preachers used other rhetorical techniques to appeal to a broad audience. These included chastising the heretics as polluters and unauthorized preachers as wolves in sheep’s clothing. One of the favorite in the mid-twelfth century was the use of the metaphor of the little foxes in the lord’s vineyard.¹⁰⁶ In preparing for his mission against the heretics in 1145, Bernard developed and polished it in his third sermon on the Song of Songs 2:15: “Seize for us the little foxes that are destroying the vineyard.” This was originally intended to apply to the monks who might be tempted by the vices (“foxes”) on their spiritual journey, but he expanded it for use in defining the battle against heresy in the public sphere. Elizabeth of Schönaue praised Hildegard of Bingen in 1163 as a “*operatrix in vinea Domini*” when she wrote to Hildegard trying to persuade her to preach more widely against the heretics. The fear of heresy had clearly created a dilemma for the cloistered communities as they contemplated being drawn into the public sphere. Should they modify their lifestyle to work

102 Kienzle, “*Operatrix in vinea Domini*: Hildegard of Bingen’s Preaching and Polemics” (1996); Kienzle, “Defending the Lord’s Vineyard” (1998).

103 On Elisabeth and Eckbert, see Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönaue* (1992).

104 Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 168.

105 Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 171. For a more detailed discussion of the ongoing problematic historical use of the term “Cathar,” see Moore, “The Cathar Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem” (2015). Based on usage in the twelfth century, a more correct term for those dissidents, especially in southern France, might be “bonne hommes.” However, because of the currency of usage among scholars, I will use the shorthand “Cathar.”

106 For what follows on this topic, see Kienzle, “Defending the Lord’s Vineyard” (1998), 164–66 and 175.

among the public? How could they be effective in doing so? Their anxieties were not unreal. Even Bernard's charisma did not guarantee his success as he found out in Verfeil in southern France where the local nobles caused so much noise as he tried to preach publicly against the heretics that he could not complete the sermon and left the town hastily in anger.¹⁰⁷

The ambivalence of local authorities and the papal schism may have contributed to the lack of results in the effort to suppress heresy, but political motivation also played a role as we saw in the cases of the trials of Abelard and Gilbert de la Porrée which had undermined confidence in the clerical leadership. A fair assessment, however, should point out that normally very effective preachers such as Bernard did not really always have heresy as their top priority. The writings of Peter the Venerable in defense of the Catholic faith drew attention more to the Jews and Muslims than heretics, but in his *Against the Petrobrusians* he did address the "danger that lurked among the common people."¹⁰⁸ Anticlerical unrest was growing as part of a broader tension over the exploitation of agrarian wealth at the expense of those who did the labor. The prosperity of the towns and the resentment of the ecclesiastical pride taken in the "mantle of churches" built by the hard labor of common craftsmen who felt unappreciated and not well paid further exacerbated the town-country split and played prominently in the grievances of the 'people.' The rising fear of this general unrest likely contributed to nightmares of the elite like King Henry I who appears in the Worcester Chronicle (ca. 1130–1140) asleep surrounded by angry peasants protesting his latest taxes.¹⁰⁹ It was not by accident that many accused of "heresy" were those grievants.¹¹⁰

Another way in which the clergy continued to alienate the lay population is illustrated by Lambert "le Bègue" ("the stammerer;" d. 1177), a parish priest in Liege who was accused of heresy.¹¹¹ Among his "sins" were enumerated popular preaching in a way that was more radical in its attacks on clerical abuses such as marriage and allowing the sons of married clergy to become priests. However, he also exhibited a touch of prudishness when he attacked the laity for having excessive celebrations in churchyards and dancing on the graves of the dead. In ranting against the lay use of the churchyard, Lambert was in line with developing episcopal policy to limit its use to ecclesiastical ceremony and celebration, but this was now in conflict with a longstanding tradition that had permitted

107 Kienzle, "Tending the Lord's Vineyard" (1995), 59.

108 Kienzle, "Tending the Lord's Vineyard" (1995), 50.

109 Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 66; a color illustration from the Oxford Corpus MS. 157 in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is found in *War on Heresy*, plate 2a on 96b. See below, Fig. 1.

110 Cf. Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 150–51.

111 For what follows, see Moore, *Origins of European Dissent* (1977), 191–94.

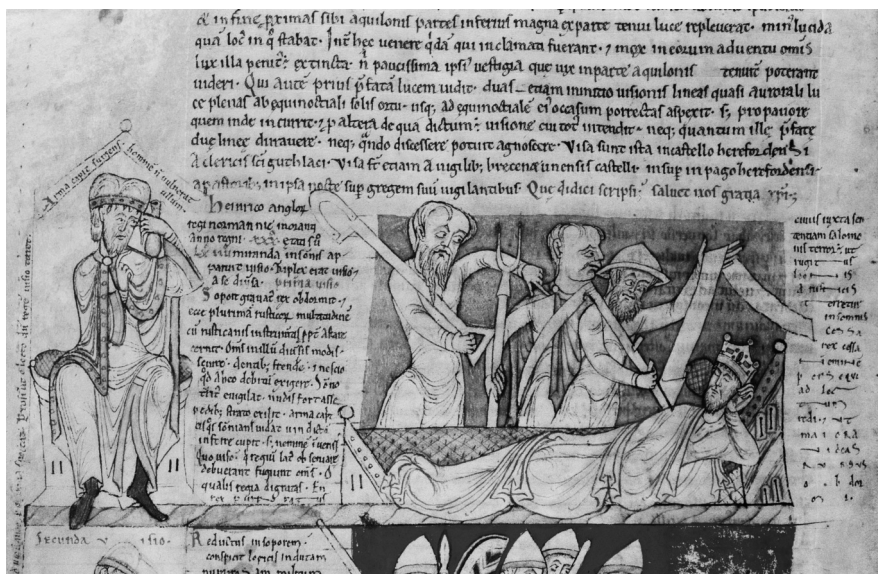


Fig. 1: The visions dreamt by King Henry I in Normandy in 1130, from the Worcester Chronicle, c. 1130–1140 (vellum) (detail of 95503, English school (12th century) /copyright Corpus Christi College, Oxford, UK/Bridgeman Images.

public meetings of all sorts on those grounds. Here again we see a conflict over public space being defined along lay–clerical lines, which by the twelfth century was being pursued in a particularly aggressive manner by the Church and opening up the public sphere for bitterness.

The combination of local circumstances and increasing local frustration with the tightening of central ecclesiastical authority and control of the public sphere meant that it took much longer than the ecclesial authorities envisioned to mitigate the Cathar attraction. It was not until about 1250 that wholesale persecution of the sect paid off and drove it underground, thus losing its influence in the public sphere in its southern French heartland.¹¹²

However, the Cathars were not the only threat to ecclesiastical power. The Waldensians remained strong and even became “the religion of the small man” in many regions by the end of thirteenth century.¹¹³ In Germany, in particular, we have solid evidence of its widespread influence. The *Anonymous of Passau* dates from the second half of the thirteenth century and provides details of

¹¹² Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1992), 143–46.

¹¹³ For an overview, see Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1977), 147–71.

an inquisition of around 1266. This was a movement centered in the rural countryside not the cities, and the chronicler notes no less than forty-two places in Lower Austria where heresy was detected or alleged.¹¹⁴ Apparently the faults of the local clergy facilitated heretical preaching among the simple people. The teachings were not abstract like those of the Cathars and Scripture in the vernacular was the primary basis for preaching the word. By the fourteenth century, the sect had spread into Bohemia and thrived even further eastward among German-speaking peoples, where “preachers in the night” kept it alive despite persecutions that ensued.¹¹⁵ In France, the Waldensians were excommunicated, but not subjected to persecution until the 1230s as the friars came and drove the sect into secrecy. By the time Bernard Gui (ca. 1261–1331), the Dominican inquisitor, entered Provence in the early fourteenth century he could find only a few Waldensians who remained visible enough to prosecute.¹¹⁶

Overall, this body of evidence regarding the advancement of inquisitorial techniques, especially excommunication of both admitted heretics and those who sheltered them, denial of various public rights to property and public office, as well as public pronouncements of sentences and humiliation of the penitents, including death by public burning, has brought modern scholars to consider whether the medieval Church had gone too far. Had it created a “persecuting society” in the attempt to draw a line between acceptable and unacceptable “reform” of what it admitted were abuses of clerical status? Moore has argued that the adoption of the means to punish those who disobeyed the increasingly hierarchical and centralized authority of the Church led to a “permanent change in Western society.” This involved a “deliberate and socially sanctioned violence [that] began to be directed through established governmental, judicial and social institutions against groups of people defined by general characteristics such as race, religion or way of life.”¹¹⁷ Recently, Moore’s proposition has been contested by scholars who point out that regional differences of culture throughout Europe mitigated against universal uniformity in ecclesiastical efforts to eradicate heresy and other “differences” (e.g., lepers, Jews, Muslims, and homosexuals). Others call into question the broad generalization of a total societal overhaul.¹¹⁸

114 Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1977), 149. See the map on 150, where Lambert sites the places where Waldensians were found in 1266.

115 Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1977), 151–56.

116 Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (1977), 161.

117 Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (1987), 4–5.

118 See, for example, the various studies collected in *Difference and Dissent*, ed. Nederman and Laursen (1996); *Beyond the Persecuting Society*, ed. Laursen and Nederman (1998); Nederman, *Worlds of Difference* (2000); and, *Tolerance and Intolerance*, ed. Gervers and Powell, (2001). See

What is important for this study is the way in which the pursuit of heresy elevated the role of the public sphere in medieval society. Heresy by nature of definition called for public exposure and public condemnation. To expand, heresy required public preaching. In turn, the papacy called upon its most articulate preachers to attack the heretics in order to persuade the masses of Christians to resist the temptation to become more like monks and lead the *vita apostolica*, or to become itinerant preachers without papal authorization. Via the pulpits of its parish churches the Church used its widespread outreach within the public domain to create the specter of heresy, with its stereotypes of evil and damnation for those who outright disobeyed or denied the proper place of its hierarchical clergy. Because our sources are those of the victors, however, we cannot always be so sure that the commands of ‘the Church’ regarding the use of fear, intimidation, and violence to cleanse society were so uniformly carried out as intimated by what we do know. Yet, it does seem more clear that clerical authorities had learned how to communicate widely and effectively in their attempt to dominate the public sphere.

The ecclesiastical struggle with heresy reveals several other things about the developing public sphere and the functions of public opinion in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. First of all, we have come to know more about how ‘the people’ played both real and abstract roles. Moore’s analysis is on target when he states that

Heresy was a public matter. It touched the powerful and their relations with one another, whether they were clerics or laymen, [...] When all authority was precarious, nobody who claimed it could allow the legitimacy of his claim to be impugned.¹¹⁹

Impugning meant acknowledging the concept of the “fear of the people,” even though it was not always clear who ‘the people’ were. In this era it was now most likely that one could not express views openly without concern for a public reaction. For example, Roscelin of Compiègne (ca. 1050–1125), the French philosopher and theologian whose views on the Trinity were challenged at a council at Soissons in 1092, complained about being confronted by “certain violent people” and recanted his views out of fear of being stoned to death by them. Moore rightly cautions here that this incident only raises more questions than it answers regarding who ‘the people’ were and what role they might have played in “public affairs” or the “business of heresy.”¹²⁰ But it reinforces the view that contempo-

also more focused studies by Classen, “Emergence of Tolerance” (1992), and, Classen, “Tolerance in the Middle Ages?” (2006).

¹¹⁹ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 30.

¹²⁰ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 31.

rary observers were concerned enough to take special note of ‘the people’ and how they might influence political decisions. This had been true as early as the report on the assembly at Arras in 1024 which alleged to quote the words of the ordinary working men and women in placing them into the context of a “textual community” that had played a role in attracting followers.¹²¹ In the same era, the chronicle of Ademar of Chabannes is filled with references to “public events” such as public parades of relics and reports of miracles to influence public opinion in order to build a cult at his monastery, as well as his “public humiliation” as the result of being bested in a public debate before large numbers of people. Ademar also claimed that Manichaeism was being spread in the region. Since few other texts remark on “heresy” to substantiate this claim, perhaps this too was only meant to raise fears among ‘the people’ in order to enhance his role in the reform movement.¹²²

Second, though we remain somewhat skeptical of the monastic reports of popular activities, in the words of Moore, those accounts of the “behavior and motivations of the ‘common people’ may be manipulated but they are not fabricated.”¹²³ Religious leaders needed to persuade and be endorsed by the *populus* (meaning the “common people”), which because of its mass generated fear across the ranks of society. Even among the lay knights and even though there was a great divide among the rich and the poor, “the fear of revolt was real and present, though seldom acknowledged,” at least in public.¹²⁴ The need to appear in a favorable light recalls Habermas’s construction of the public sphere as “a forum in which the private people, come together to form a public, readied themselves to *compel* public authority to legitimate itself before public opinion.”¹²⁵ In the ongoing fabrication and pursuit of heresy, the Church and its critics also learned the value of the belief that ‘the people’ could and might act in unison.

Because the contest between heretic and reformer was often fought on thin ice it became necessary to tread carefully. Bernard, as famous a critic of heresy in Toulouse and the Rhineland as he was, still took time to denounce papal faults in his *De Consideratione*.¹²⁶ The ideal of reform itself confronted a fork in the road to success. On the one hand, for its spiritual and intellectual core it relied

¹²¹ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 48–49.

¹²² Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 57–58.

¹²³ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 66.

¹²⁴ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 66. As before, Moore cites the ongoing nightmare of Henry I of England of a peasant revolt as illustrated in Corpus Christi College MS. 157 in Oxford; see the color illustration in his plate 2a on 96b (see above, p. 133, n. 109, and Fig. 1 on p. 134).

¹²⁵ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1989), 25–26; emphasis his.

¹²⁶ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 140–41.

upon a Neo-Platonist tradition dating back to the Carolingian era; while for its practical aspect it called upon the popular indignation over clerical abuses. By the thirteenth century it was reformers who took the practical path who got into the most trouble and were declared heretics because they remained close to the communities in which they preached, and “the faith they preached plainly affirmed the values of a world in which small groups of men and women stood together as equals [...] hostile to every external claim on their obedience, allegiance or wealth.”¹²⁷ But if an individual or group found it necessary to take a public stance that was based on their private convictions, yet stood in conflict with a local code of behavior, they would be more likely to face the fire.

An example is found perhaps in the case of Minerve, a stony village in the heart of Languedoc that was destroyed in 1210 by Simon de Montfort (ca. 1175–1218), and resulted in the massacre of over one hundred “good men and good women” as reported by Peter of Les Vaux de Carney.¹²⁸ Peter was a Cistercian, a nephew of Simon, and an observer of the Albigensian crusading efforts led by Simon. His account written between 1212 and 1218 indicates a familiarity with local issues of land ownership and the warfare among the petty nobles of southern France at the time of crusade. Among his reports we find elements of social conflict inherent in the new demands on the economy of the region. Rapid inflation and higher exactions from churches and monasteries to keep pace were being made on the fortified towns, and often these exactions were being enforced by new lords from the north who entered as part of crusading armies and brought values in conflict with local norms of behavior. The values of the south, as celebrated by the troubadours, were encapsulated in a code known as the *cortezia* which praised a modest demeanor characterized by “the avoidance of offence, deceit and ostentation.”¹²⁹ Anticlericalism had been evident in the region as early as the first decades of the twelfth century, and local *bons homs* had been identified as spokesmen for these ideas by around 1165. Wandering apostolic preachers had come into the area, including Robert d’Arbrissel, Henry of Lausanne, and Peter of Bruys, who were the more noted among them. In other words the conflict between outsiders and the local culture had been brewing along these lines long before the attacks on “heresy” began. Because the aggressive pursuit of heretics was regarded as being caused by “outside troublemakers,” it makes it difficult to know how many of those burned in the various towns were actually Cathars, or even real heretics as opposed to

¹²⁷ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 142.

¹²⁸ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 250–53.

¹²⁹ Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 258.

those who simply were stubborn in their resistance to outside disruption of local conditions and traditions.¹³⁰ Regardless of how much the use of inquisitional techniques and public wholesale burnings cast an aura of darkness over the development of the medieval public sphere, it did not inhibit Innocent III from trying to expand the role of the clergy in public affairs.

At Lateran IV in 1215 with over 1200 prelates and representatives of secular rulers in attendance Innocent offered the war on heresy as the primary reason for the extension of clerical oversight into all aspects of the public and private lives of Christians. According to Canon 1, the faithful were required to accept the now canonically defined doctrine of the Trinity; and in Canon 21, to confess their sins at least once per year, or, in violation of either, to face the humiliation of a public excommunication.¹³¹ Clergy were to become better educated in order to deal with the growing literacy of the dissidents. Canon 3 dictated that clergy should actively seek out and put to trial those suspected of heresy. With emphasis on the public sphere, many sanctions were put in place, especially regarding office holding and property ownership in order to exclude them from any influence in public life, as well as to deny them the sacraments and rites of the Christian faith.¹³²

Since the actual punishment of those who did not recant was up to secular authorities, and as the narrative above suggests, these provisions became subject to secular abuse. The papal enemy Frederick II, for example, ironically applied canons of Lateran IV to label his political enemies as “heretics” as he consolidated royal power in southern Italy. As well, Innocent’s attempt to further empower the local priests did not overcome their vulnerability to local customs which reinforced the need for other “outsiders,” namely the friars, to be called upon by the pope to provide acceptable models of apostolic poverty while they preached freely against heresy across territorial boundaries.

In the case of heresy it is perhaps most clear how important the use of public space had become in defining a metaphorical public sphere in the medieval contest for power. Early encounters with dissent had tended to follow the guidance of Augustine who had favored open debate over beliefs in order to clarify them. By the twelfth century, however, as the dissidents learned the value of public debate for their cause and the use of preaching in the public sphere to influence ideas, the clergy became fearful of the loss of control. Unfortunately, this meant transforming the use of public space from a potential place of public debate over beliefs and practices

130 Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 259–63.

131 *Heresy and Authority*, ed. with intro. Peters (1980), 173–74 and 177–78, for English translations of the texts of these canons.

132 For the English translation of Canon 3, see *Heresy and Authority* (1980), 175–77. Also, see Moore, *War on Heresy*, 265–66.

to a place for public spectacles of punishment for daring to offer opinions contrary to the orthodox. The inquisitional processes themselves were not public, but the pronouncements of sentences of punishment for the findings of heresy in those secret processes were open to everyone in staged ceremonies called *sermones generale* held in places able to accommodate the largest possible crowds.¹³³ Often these were accompanied by other theatrical punishments, such as the burning of the houses of the heretics and then turning the sites into garbage dumps, or in turning the most egregious and obstinate heretics over to secular authorities who would take them to the stake for a public burning.¹³⁴ As Moore reminds, the inquisition technique extended the scope of law by creating “new categories of offences against an *abstract public good*, defined by the public authorities themselves,” which “opened the way to ever-widening circles of denunciation and accusation.”¹³⁵ But did this lead to a monolithic “persecuting society”?

I would argue that the medieval public sphere was more dynamic than that. For example, the use of inquisition, public humiliation and punishment as propaganda to intimidate those attending to adhere to orthodoxy could backfire. Sometimes the witnesses could come to perceive those burned at the stake, such as members of the Spiritual Franciscans or the Beguines whose demeanor did not reflect guilt or regret, as “martyrs” instead of criminals, and the tables could be turned on the inquisitors. This reversal could even lead, as in several cases in southern France in towns such as Albi and Carcassonne, to collective action against the inquisition itself in the contest for control of the public sphere.¹³⁶ In the 1280s the townspeople of Carcassonne began to feel unjustly accused of heresy and appealed to the pope as well as the king for protection against the inquisitors who had set up a permanent center in the town for a Dominican tribunal. Clearly, public opinion had turned against the inquisition to the point that when their persistent appeals did not produce action, the citizens became violent. In 1295, the major inquisitor, Nicholas of Abbeville, was literally driven from the pulpit, and he as well as other Dominicans were assaulted in the streets. In 1296 the inquisitors were prevented by a riot from making ar-

133 Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society* (1997), 73–74.

134 Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society* (1997), 74.

135 Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 206.

136 Moore, *War on Heresy* (2012), 293–94. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society* (1997), 72, also discusses the use of punishment by the inquisitors as part of the struggle to impose a spiritual and cultural hegemony over the peoples of Languedoc using Gramsci’s sense of hegemony as found in his *Prison Notebooks* (1971; 12–14 and 244).

rests of suspected heretics. As a result, King Philip IV showed a willingness to attempt an intervention, but Pope Boniface VIII was not willing to listen.¹³⁷ Ultimately, this public opposition was not successful in relieving Carcassonne from the burden of the inquisitional process, but the willingness of the people to try a collective approach illustrates further the growth of medieval sensitivity to the importance and potential power of public opinion to influence political actions.

Analysis of the multitude of studies of heresy has led Alexander Patschovsky to conclude that by the time of Boniface VIII “*the* heresy par excellence had become disobedience instead of disbelief.”¹³⁸ He argues that the primary motive for the persecution of heresy was political, and offers examples such as Milan during the era of the Patarenes wherein often the stakes were defined as control of the public will as contested by new forms of communal development that involved “the ordinary citizens of free status, commoners, who up to this time had no governmental rights.”¹³⁹ Thus, for Patschovsky, heresy is “an indicator of an overall process in society,”¹⁴⁰ a sign of social change, and in this case a change in which the evolution of a greater presence of the medieval public became more transparent.

137 Given, “Social Stress, Social Strain, and the Inquisitors” (1996), 80–81. For an overview of the protests against inquisitors in southern France, see Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition in Southern France* (1974), 146–73.

138 Patschovsky, “Heresy and Society” (2003), 26.

139 Patschovsky, “Heresy and Society” (2003), 30.

140 Patschovsky, “Heresy and Society” (2003), 38.

Chapter 5

Influence and Challenge: the Power of the Crusades in their Own Public Sphere

Perhaps no other events of the later Middle Ages in Western Europe captured such widespread and persistent attention across all the lines of society as did the crusades.¹ The Peace and Truce of God had begun in the tenth century as local assemblies in the Midi and spread sporadically to other regions of Europe, the cults of saints were intense within the domains of the locally chosen patron saints, and the pursuit of heresy had been intensified into a crusade in southern France by the early thirteenth. Yet, the propagation of the crusades to the Holy Land became so widespread that it is likely that no Christian would have lived very long in the crusade era without personally hearing at least one sermon urging participation in some sort of a crusade. In the words of Christoph Maier, “This means that the impact of crusade sermons on the manner which the public perceived of crusading and the crusade must have been considerable.”²

In this chapter we will consider the impact of the crusades upon the development of the public sphere. The focus will be on four phases in their evolution, beginning with the calling of the First Crusade in 1095; moving on to the reaction to the failure of the Second in the 1140s; then to the intense focus on crusading by Innocent III in the early thirteenth century; and ending with Europe’s failure to respond to the fall of the last Christian stronghold in the Holy Land in 1291. The crusades provide the best illustration of how important control of the public sphere in the dissemination of propaganda in support of an important public political event could be. In this case the most effective medium for the dissemination of that propaganda was the sermon, and its control was in the hands of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, in particular the papacy.

¹ See, for example, the comment of Edward Peters with reference to the First Crusade that it “touched the lives and thoughts of more people at more levels of society in more ways than any earlier event in European history.” *The First Crusade*, ed. Peters (1971), 3. Yet, as Norman Housley has pointed out, little attention has been paid to what contemporaries thought about crusading. This issue has been taken up by Chevedden, “The View of Crusading from Rome and Damascus” (2011).

² Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology* (2000), 51.

The First Crusade

Upon his ascension to the papal throne Urban II (r. 1088–1099) inherited several major assets for the launching of the first major European military effort to seize control of the Holy Land. First, although modern scholars have debated this point a good bit, a consensus seems to have emerged that an ideology in favor of a crusade had slowly evolved from the late tenth century, and that the Peace of God movement played some role in establishing a favorable climate of opinion.³ In the period leading up to the crusade, given that most ecclesial hierarchs viewed the bearing of arms with suspicion, forbade the clergy to fight, and imposed penance upon soldiers who killed in battle, this consensus would not have been easy to attain.⁴ It would have required a major effort in persuasion to change attitudes and opinions. Second, thanks to the success of various reforms of clerical abuse and a lessening of violence perpetrated on church property and its inhabitants of the lesser orders in society, a much stronger and more favorable view of the central role of the papacy had developed. Third, even though there were obvious dangers due to its volatility, the value of the public sphere and the essential role of preaching within it had become much more transparent. Fourth, a more positive clerical point of view regarding support for the use of force to “liberate Christendom”⁵ was emerging parallel to a more aggressive development of ecclesiastical reform and central government.

By mid-eleventh century, according to the analysis of Erdmann, there had already developed three acceptable kinds of “holy war,” namely (1) against the heathen; (2) within the Church for religious and moral reasons; and, (3)

3 For a brief overview of the more recent literature on the topic, see Flori, “Ideology and Motivations in the First Crusade,” (2005). Also, see these examples: Cowdrey, “From the Peace of God to the First Crusade” (1997); Flori, “De la paix de Dieu à la croisade?” (2003); and, for an opposing point of view, Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade* (1993), 20–69. On the ongoing debate over the true purpose of the First Crusade, that is, whether it was to liberate the Eastern Christians, or seize Jerusalem, see Chevedden, “Canon 2 of the Council of Clermont (1095) and the Goal of the Eastern Crusade” (2005).

4 Gilchrist, “The Papacy and the War against the ‘Saracens’” (1988), 174–75.

5 This phrase was first adopted in principle by Leo IX (1049–54), and “liberanda Christianitas” was used directly by Urban II to justify the First Crusade. See Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 122. Erdmann (95) also discusses the evolution of the idea that a “war against heathens” was different from other wars, and that by mid-eleventh century the Church’s posture had changed from necessary defense (e.g., against the Norse, Arabs, and Magyars) to acceptable offense (against the Muslims in Spain).

since Leo IX, in direct service of the pope.⁶ Moreover, widespread support for the use of weapons was being cultivated in the liturgy of the eleventh century in the form of blessings of warriors and their weapons, especially for those knights who offered their swords in the service of the Church.⁷ Finally, there was an ongoing restlessness of the knightly warrior alongside the growing use of mercenary soldiers. The latter tended to break down local feudal loyalties and allow the popes to recruit soldiers who could be persuaded to fight for ecclesiastical purposes, as in the case of the ongoing papal struggle with the Normans in Southern Italy. With the need for protection of “the Church” becoming a more prominent feature of papal propaganda, the knights identified more with warrior saints (e.g., George) who they eventually adopted as their patrons by the twelfth century.⁸

In particular, the worldview modeled by Gregory VII seems to have had a significant influence on Urban. Gregory was convinced that the political unity of the Western world was based on the combination of the Christian community and the leadership of the pope himself, meaning that the secular lords of society should be subordinated to the ecclesiastical.⁹ As the warlike interests of the papacy developed in the 1060s, Hildebrand had already been playing a key role by encouraging Pope Alexander II to take a public stance in favor of William over Harold as the Norman Duke prepared to invade England in 1066. By awarding the papal banner to William, the pope in effect made it a “holy war.”¹⁰ Prior to Gregory, the “*militia Sancti Petri*” had referred to the monks whose weapons were their prayers, ascetic lifestyle, and good works. Gregory, however, began to portray the members of the “militia” as the bishops who fought the *bellum Christi* in the everyday world, not in the seclusion of a monastic cell. The “sword of St Peter” became excommunication or deposition and Gregory used it often himself. During his tenure as pope, he even tried to acquire papal armies to execute his policies. These military efforts all failed, but they did elicit much heated discussion on the question of war which likely played a key role in the origin of the crusades.¹¹

6 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 141, 144. For a brief summary of the mid-eleventh century reformed papacy’s view of holy war and the evolving perception of Islam on the same, see Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 45–57.

7 Flori “Ideology and Motivations” (2005), 16. See also, for example, Keen, *Chivalry* (1984), 64–77; Robinson, “Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ,” (1973); Gilchrist, “The Papacy and the War against the Saracens” (1988); and, Cowdrey, “Pope Gregory VII and the Bearing of Arms” (1997).

8 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 281.

9 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 149, n. 4.

10 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 154–55.

11 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 230.

The debate began early in Gregory's term as pope, and reached a peak in the late 1070s when he dissolved oaths of fealty to Henry IV and offered spiritual rewards to those who would oppose him. By 1080 there were widespread public protests and complaints that "the head of Christendom was sowing dissension in the Church."¹² The jurist Peter Crassus (fl. 1080s), in a pamphlet of 1084 referring to the doctrine of the two swords which was at the heart of the contest over public authority, continued to accuse Gregory of "bearing a sword to which he had no right."¹³ In response, Manegold of Lautenbach (ca. 1030–ca. 1103) defended Gregory by in effect defining the concept of a "just war," which included provisions that a permissible war "must be public," "for the homeland," "led by a legitimate prince," and "conducted for a just cause." In so defining the justness of warfare, Manegold also assumed that a king was a public official, subject to deposition by the people, but the pope was the only one who was rightfully designated as an "unlimited ruler."¹⁴

Since the popes, with the support of the early Church Fathers, had relied upon the Roman emperors to enforce ecclesiastical policies against schismatics and excommunicates, a key aspect of this eleventh-century debate became centered on the conflictual teaching that to kill in battle, even in a just war, was a capital sin.¹⁵ This issue turned the public propaganda up a notch further. Anselm of Lucca (1036–1086), using letters and treatises to give full consideration to the problem of the ecclesiastical use of coercion and war, for example, "tried to set the whole world in motion against Henry IV."¹⁶ Admittedly, Anselm did not play fair in this battle. Indeed, in order to justify the Church's use of persecution with the claim that "to act against the wicked is not really persecution but an act of love,"¹⁷ he began by distorting Augustine's discussion of the Donatists, which had nothing to do with the use of excommunication in the Investiture Contest. Anselm then focused the argument on the forcible coercion of papal opponents regardless of how you might define their wickedness (e.g., as "pagan;" "heretic;" or, any "disobedient member of the faithful" who might be excommunicated for whatever reason). Thus, killing of the wicked could now be defined and forgiven as an act of "love."

12 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 231.

13 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 233–34.

14 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 234–35.

15 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 238. A recent brief overview of Old Testament, classical theories, and Christian ideas of holy and just war is provided by Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 28–35.

16 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 242.

17 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 245.

One more theoretical step on the way to blessing the crusade was taken by Bonizo of Sutri (ca. 1045–ca. 1095), a friend and part of the anti-Henrician network of Anselm and Matilda of Tuscany, who in 1085–86 completed his *Liber ad amicum*, which has been labeled the “most famous political pamphlet of the Investiture Contest.”¹⁸ In this treatise, Bonizo provided a “Christian code for knights” that authorized secular combat against heretics and schismatics, as well as fighting to one’s death in support of the “*res publica*,” which was now being defined by Gregory VII as “*Christianitas*.”¹⁹ In the works of these authors the “holy war” being debated was what Erdmann referred to as a war of internal purification, not that against an external enemy.²⁰

At this stage the issue of the war against the “pagans” was somewhat moot, at least until Bishop Ivo of Chartres (ca. 1040–1115) took up the question of the “just war” once again in 1094 on the very eve of Urban’s speech at Clermont the next year. He argued that the defense of the homeland was a just cause for war, especially a war against pagans. Furthermore, Ivo believed that it would not be sinful to kill in such a war; indeed, there would be a heavenly reward.²¹ Thus, as a student of the canonist literature, Urban II had plenty to consider as he developed his policy on the “other.”

Early on in his papacy Urban had not urged war, so he must have debated in his own mind the value of a military expedition to respond to the Byzantine appeal in March of 1095 for assistance against the “pagans” who were slaughtering Christians in the East.²² However, clearly the intellectual tide against killing in battle had turned in favor of the model of the Christian knight defending the homeland of *Christianitas*. Popular support for the idea was also being generated in knightly courts by the *chansons de geste* and the prophecies of the *Sybylline Oracles* that had circulated in the West long before, and wherein war against the heathen was the main theme.²³ Among other things, the latter had predicted that the last emperor before the end of the world would conquer and convert all the heathen while uniting the two halves of the Christian empire.²⁴ In this climate of Western opinion, the stage had been set broadly for a major Christian

18 MGH, *Libelli de lite* I. 571; as cited in Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 248.

19 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 253.

20 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 255.

21 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 265–67.

22 Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 61.

23 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 287 and 298.

24 Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1977), 298–99.

reaction to the invasion of the Turks.²⁵ Thus, it is not hard to imagine a response to Urban's call to action in November of 1095 at Clermont whereby the assembled masses reportedly exclaimed "*Deus vult!*"

In preparing for the First Crusade, Urban II demonstrated awareness of the importance of the public sphere and the need to manipulate public opinion in several ways. Prior to Clermont he had spent several months traveling through southern France tending to matters of church reform while gathering intelligence about events in *Ultramare* and likely screening potential opinion leaders. He visited Valence and Le Puy in August, and then sent letters to all the bishops summoning them to meet in November. By September Urban spent time in Avignon and other sites in Provence, and in October he was at Cluny for the dedication of the main altar of the new church being erected by the abbot Hugh.²⁶ The council assembled in November with over three hundred clerics to deal with cases of ongoing church reform. Finally, during this course of business Urban announced a public session for November 27. Understanding the need for a spectacle to attract the laity invited to join the clergy for this session, the assembly was held in the open field outside the cathedral. A platform with the papal throne was constructed to elevate Urban above the large crowd as he spoke with passion about the need for Christians to "spur themselves in great earnestness to overcome the Devil's devices and to try to restore the Holy Church, most unmercifully weakened by the wicked, to its former honorable status."²⁷

As Tyerman points out, Urban's speech was

[...] the first public declaration of his new concept of holy war that we know of. The event itself was carefully orchestrated, its theatricality aimed at establishing a concrete image and memory.²⁸

The pope had seized control of the public sphere and the public imagination. Ceremony was 'media' wherein public exhortation and debate took place and the audience was well in tune with what to expect from preaching. One of the outcomes of the Gregorian reform had been "greater popular demand for and interest in preachers and sermons," and in France in particular "unprecedented

²⁵ For an overview of the developing papal view on holy war, see Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 45–57.

²⁶ For this reconstruction of events, see Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (1964), I: 106–109.

²⁷ Fulcher of Chartres, *Chronicle of the First Crusade* (*Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia hierosolymitana*), trans. McGinty, as partially reprinted in *The First Crusade*, ed. Peters (1971), 50.

²⁸ Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 64.

numbers of lay preachers” were offering salvation via a life of apostolic poverty.²⁹ Here the pope was offering a more likely alternative path, especially for those of the knightly class who were much more prone to choose military honor over poverty in defense of ‘the Church.’

One account of Urban’s speech is particularly relevant for helping us to understand how well he used the public pulpit in building the case for an armed expedition. Baudri of Dol was a preacher and he paid attention to the eloquence and structure of the papal message. In his version of Urban’s speech, using the intelligence gained about events in the East, the pope began with reference to the suffering of fellow Christians. Anticipating the possible disdain for the Byzantine schismatics, the pope urged the audience to consider them as “sons of the same Christ and of the same church.”³⁰ He also challenged the audience to think that if the Turks were allowed to continue their atrocities in the East where Christianity began, it might be ultimately eliminated. In particular, Urban sought to enable the audience to identify with his own feelings of shame and fear regarding the way Jerusalem was being subjected to pagan abomination with these words “I am on the edge of tears and cries: sighs and sobbing threaten to overcome me, Let us bewail brothers.”³¹ According to Baudri the pope then built on this personal bridge which asked the listeners to join with him in feeling the pain by adding the voice of authority which was a typical approach of ecclesiastical preachers. In this case Urban chose a quote from Psalms: “God, the nations have come into your inheritance; they have polluted your holy temple; they have made Jerusalem guard the fruit trees; they have put out the dead bodies of your servants to feed the birds and the flesh of your saints to feed the beasts of the land.”³² In tune with the likely reaction to this opening, namely, “what do you want us to do about it?” Urban turned his attention to conditions that were apt to block an expedition. First he urged them to cease their petty wars against one another and the harming of non-combatants (orphans, widows, the clergy), and take up the cause of God and defend the Holy Land. Become heroes for Christ; die for him if necessary for “The way is short, and the labor very small, but nevertheless he will give you in return the unfading

²⁹ Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 7. Also, see Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium* (1961), 38, with reference to the followers of the lay preacher Eudes de l’Étoile (or Eudo de Stella).

³⁰ Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 16, quoting Baudri of Dol, *Historia Jerosolimitana* (ca. 1108), *RHC Occ.* 4:5–111; here 13; trans. Cole.

³¹ Baudri, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, 14; trans. Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 17; emphasis mine.

³² Baudri, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, 14; trans. Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 17.

crown.”³³ Baudri thus illustrates how the sermon could be used to communicate with a broad Christian audience. Personal feelings combined with command of Scripture enabled commitment. This charismatic outreach enhanced the traditional techniques of effective preaching being used by the wandering preachers who had been offering alternatives to standard hierarchical practice as we witnessed in the previous chapter on heresy.

Other accounts of Urban’s speech are not so attentive to “medium,” but they all offer similar accounts of the core message.³⁴ A contemporary of Urban, Guibert of Nogent, who around 1108 also wrote an account of the speech at Clermont and was a student of effective preaching, praised Urban’s effort. Guibert took special note of Urban’s brilliance in the way he moved his audience, not by inciting their feelings of fear and outrage as Baudri had suggested, but by “evoking their desire for God.”³⁵ This in turn led them to compare themselves to the Maccabees as soldiers wherein the war for the cross is deemed more rewarding than that for secular causes. For Guibert overall, Urban’s sermon was praiseworthy because it met the criteria for effective Christian preaching, that is, it urged men to undertake a good work based on their love of God and their recognition that their sins needed them to take on a task that better assured their salvation.³⁶ For these various reasons Urban’s speech continued to be offered as an exemplary crusade sermon well after his death. A version of it was even so appended to a fourteenth-century text of the *De predicacione crucis* of Humbert of Romans.³⁷

Urban was thorough in his preparations for the speech at Clermont. Though not expressly validated in the sources there are more than hints that those present were carefully selected for their value as “opinion leaders” in the communities from which they were drawn. For example, the bishop Adhemar of Le Puy, who Urban visited in August, upon hearing the pope’s conclusion immediately knelt before him promising his allegiance to the mission. Afterwards, since there were no kings among its warriors, Adhemar, “acting as vice-regent, ruled the whole army of God wisely and thoughtfully, and spurred them to complete their undertaking vigorously.”³⁸ As well, the sudden exclamation of “*Deus*

33 Baudri, *Historia Jerosolomitana*, 15; trans. Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 18.

34 See the summary of subjects in common found in the version offered by Fulcher of Chartres, Robert the Monk, Guibert of Nogent, and William of Malmesbury, as well as that of Baudri, in Munro, “The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095” (1906).

35 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 23.

36 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 27.

37 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 27.

38 *The First Crusade*, ed. Peters (1998), 54.

vult!” suggests the planting of audience stimulators.³⁹ Yet, the actual objective of raising an army hung in the balance. Not many key secular leaders had attended the Clermont speech, and the absence of contemporary records of the event suggests that the papal idea was not yet a “hot item.”⁴⁰

Having successfully engineered the public launching, Urban wasted no time in undertaking the second step, namely a mandated preaching of the expedition by the bishops, as well as a letter-writing and a preaching campaign by the pope himself to enhance public awareness. Just a few days after the Clermont speech, for example, Urban wrote to supporters in Flanders describing the miseries of the plundering of Christian holy places, especially Jerusalem which became the “cornerstone of Urban’s concept of penitential warfare.”⁴¹ Other letters flowed outward. In order to take advantage of his personal charisma and the current strength of the papal office to attract large numbers who might then take the cross on the spot in his presence, the pope preached personally in the Loire valley, his homeland, where monastic charters report that Urban urged the people “to go to Jerusalem to drive out the heathen.”⁴² Even after the army had departed, Urban wrote to the monks of Vallembrosa in October of 1096 to reaffirm the validity of the goal to “liberate Christianity.”⁴³

Tyerman has suggested how Urban’s use of Jerusalem as both a place and an ideal, while transforming it into a penitential reward, may have appealed to the laity as well as the clergy in an age of socio-religious conflict and spiritual enthusiasm. Jerusalem had become a major goal of Christian pilgrims of all ranks in society in the eleventh century. Although it was still accessible to them in the 1090s, the thought of its permanent loss and/or defilement was being used to the advantage of crusade recruitment by Urban who had developed a special bond with the Holy City. Urban did not have to develop a special interest in Jerusalem among the laity. He was fully aware of the popular enthusiasm for the pilgrimage and simply had to “reforge a new weapon from old shards.”⁴⁴

³⁹ Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 64–66.

⁴⁰ Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 67.

⁴¹ Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 67.

⁴² Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 68, and 91. The latter page contains an inset map indicating the route taken by Urban on his preaching tour. After leaving Clermont, from Lemans in the north, Nantes and Bordeaux in the West, to Narbonne in the South and on to Nimes and Lyons in the East, Urban reached out to a broad cross-section of France below the Loire as indicated in the map seen below in Fig. 2.

⁴³ Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 68.

⁴⁴ Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 69–70.

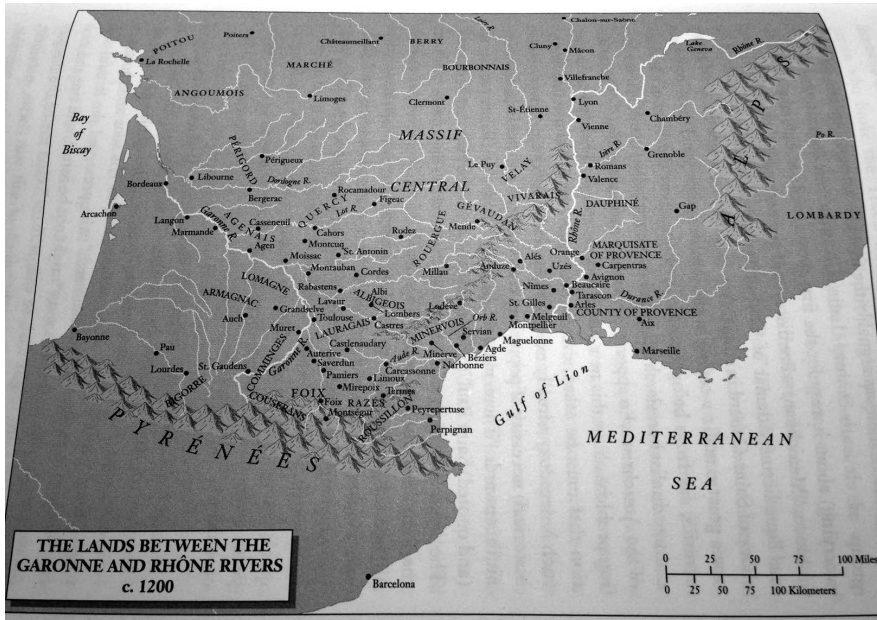


Fig. 2: Map from Mark Pegg, *A Most Holy War* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 91. By permission of Oxford University Press, USA.

Did it work? Evidence from the number of recruits from the areas where the pope directly preached or were within several miles of those places suggests that Urban was very successful. Within a year after Clermont it is estimated that perhaps as many as 80,000 people had departed for the Holy Land.⁴⁵ In addition to his own preaching Urban drew upon the strengthened network of the clerical hierarchy that combined his own personal network of archbishops, bishops and abbots with that of the local clergy preaching to get the word out that sin needed contrition and taking the cross provided the ultimate forgiveness. As well, there were informal networks to spread the word and publicize the crusade. The anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, for example, reported that there was widespread rumor

⁴⁵ For more detail, see Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 75–78. This is a lower estimate than many before who had arbitrarily settled on a number around 100,000. France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades* (1999), 204, indicates for the First Crusade that the army was “over 60,000.” Given the nature of the evidence, and the bias of ecclesiastical sources to exaggerate in these circumstances, precise numbers are always hard to calculate. However, the persistence of the sense of large numbers among most contemporary sources leads us to conclude that there were a very great many “armed pilgrims” on their way to Jerusalem in 1096.

of the papal crusade message circulating throughout “all the regions and provinces of the Gauls.”⁴⁶ If anything, it would appear that the enthusiasm was greatest within the lay public sphere. Cole sums it up this way: “Wherever men met to talk, in corners or at crossroads, they exhorted one another to join; indeed the pressure exerted in this way was so great that those who promised to go on the pilgrimage boasted openly of their intention, and those who hung back were ashamed.”⁴⁷ In this case the successful manipulation of public opinion was able to take advantage of the medieval social order to redirect the culture of violence and the popular spiritual enthusiasm and fear of damnation toward a common goal popularized in a public sphere initially controlled by the pope, but soon embraced by the laity where it took on a life of its own.⁴⁸

Third, by using an immediately recognizable symbol, the cross, to connect more deeply to Jerusalem, the site of Christ’s crucifixion, Urban confirmed the penitential value of the crusade for individual salvation. The pope personally issued crosses at Tours in March of 1096 and it is more than likely that he or his agents did so at every stop along his preaching tour.⁴⁹ These crosses could be sewn onto the garments of the committed warriors. The pope understood the value of creating a public identity that could build pride in those who assumed the cross, or become an embarrassment for those who did not. Preachers of crusade sermons were authorized to distribute the cloth symbols publicly in order to enhance public awareness. Urban, in canon 9 of Clermont, also closed the circle on the justness of killing by confirming that this war would be regarded as “sacred,” that is, a military expedition that took the place of penance earned by a pilgrim. This meant that the knights were to be regarded as *militia Christi* or *militia Dei* entrusted with the reconquest of God’s land and the places made holy by the life of the son while being guaranteed a place in heaven.⁵⁰

We struggle to know the motives of those who took the cross. Even the creative use of charters suggested by Bull, Constable, Cowdrey and Riley-Smith requires careful filtering of the ways the clerics chose to characterize or “remem-

46 *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum (The Deeds of the Franks and other Pilgrims to Jerusalem)*, ed. and trans. Hill (1972), 2.

47 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 18.

48 Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 78.

49 Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 71. Among the places included on the tour we find the key emerging urban centers of Limoges, Poitiers, Angers, Le Mans, Vendome, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Carcassonne and Lyons where spreading the word would have been reaching a larger critical mass of the public. See map in Fig. 2, p. 151 above, and also the map on p. 91 of Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006).

50 Flori, “Ideology and Motivations” (2005), 17 and 19–20.

ber” the thoughts of the warriors as they were dictated.⁵¹ It is uncertain whether those who joined the expedition considered themselves to be “penitents,” “armed pilgrims,” or even potential “martyrs.” Although it is not seen to be a prime motive for many, we cannot discount the force of personal gain, whether it was material possessions or knightly honor.⁵² Perhaps, some were even moved by a socio-religious inspiration wherein the enthusiasm of religious solidarity gained in a collective enterprise for a common religious goal or fulfillment of eschatological prophecy was foremost in their minds. Regardless, in the absence of better evidence, modern scholars seem to agree that those who participated likely believed that by engaging the pagans in the Holy Land they could have a better chance of entering heaven.⁵³ This suggestion of the power of emotion is endorsed by Tyerman as he states that “the summons to Jerusalem succeeded because it caught the imagination of a society not necessarily ready but psychologically, culturally and materially equipped to answer the call.”⁵⁴ Whatever the reason, the fact that so many chose to leave home bound for Jerusalem in 1096 is a testimonial to the effectiveness of the pope in understanding the mentality of the laity and using the public sphere to activate and influence its choice to support the papal mission.⁵⁵

Urban II was not the only charismatic promoter of the First Crusade. The pope was aware of the popularity of wandering preachers such as Robert of Arbrissel, who he thought might be helpful in spreading the crusade message. While on his preaching tours at Angers in the spring of 1096, Urban reportedly summoned Robert to preach publicly, though it is not entirely clear that he was mandated to preach exclusively on the crusade. We do know that he preached broadly, but the nature of his message is unclear. Even if he did no more than enhance the spiritual message and the ideal of hermit-like poverty, Robert likely contributed to the emotional enthusiasm that built a favorable climate of opin-

51 Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade* (1993), 259–61, 267–68; Bull, “The Diplomatic of the First Crusade” (1997); Bull, “Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories” (2003); Constable, “Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades” (1985); Cowdrey, “Pope Urban II’s Preaching of the First Crusade” (1970), 181–83; Cowdrey, “Cluny and the First Crusade” (1973), 302–03; Riley-Smith, “The State of Mind of Crusaders” (1995); and Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders* (1997). More recent reflections on crusader motivations are found in Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 84–89.

52 See, for example, the discussion that the crusade offered something for everyone by France, “Patronage and the Appeal of the First Crusade” (1997).

53 Flori, “Ideology and Motivation” (2005), 20–22; also, see Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 70–77 and 86–89.

54 Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 89.

55 Flori, “Ideology and Motivation” (2005), 18; Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 88–89.

ion for crusading.⁵⁶ It is clearer, however, that another wandering hermit, Peter of Amiens, did preach the crusade and quite successfully.

Better known as Peter the Hermit, this preacher has been the subject of much debate around the issue of the level of his responsibility for the First Crusade.⁵⁷ The controversy centers on the reading of Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolomitana*, a report providing great insight into the actual experience of crusading based on the information of eyewitnesses.⁵⁸ According to Albert, using some of the reports of the eyewitnesses he interviewed, Peter was the one who instigated the crusade. Most modern scholars do not accept this view.⁵⁹ However, it is well-documented that Peter did begin preaching the crusade even before Urban, that he did collect an army of knights in the Rhineland, and that he personally led an army to the Holy Land before the main force left Europe in August of 1096.⁶⁰ Peter's connection to Urban is less well-documented. Tyerman raises the possibility that the pope may have appointed him to preach even before Clermont while he was assessing the potential in the summer of 1095 before Clermont.⁶¹ Since he did not preach in the same regions as did the pope later, Peter may have been used to test the potential response to his idea of a crusade outside of the pope's core area of support in France. Regardless, it is Peter's role in the public sphere that illustrates how volatile that arena could be in the Middle Ages.

Peter's style of preaching is important in helping us understand the evolution of the public culture and its volatility. Unlike the pope, he reportedly reached out in the colloquial language, perhaps even using vulgar terms, in order to appeal to a broad audience. Although known popularly as the Peasants

⁵⁶ Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 33–34.

⁵⁷ One might begin with a review of the view of contemporary chroniclers. See Morris, "Peter the Hermit and the Chroniclers" (1997).

⁵⁸ An excellent English translation is now available: Albert of Aachen, *History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, vol. 1: *Books 1–6: The First Crusade, 1095–1099* (2013), trans. Edgington. An example of the analysis is provided in Blake and Morris, "A Hermit Goes to War" (1985). See also Edgington's own article, "The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence" (1997), for analysis of Albert within the context of other sources for the First Crusade.

⁵⁹ As Peters summed it up in his review of Edgington's translation of Albert, "this is a view that few now accept," in *Speculum* 89 (2014): 725–27; here 726. For the counterview and overview of the historiography prior to 1995, see Flori, "Fault-il réhabiliter Pierre l'Ermite?" (1995). Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 78–81, is still careful not to exclude the possibility of a major role played by Peter.

⁶⁰ Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 78–81.

⁶¹ Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 79.

Crusade,⁶² the various contingents that left the Rhineland at different times in 1096 were of mixed backgrounds. Guibert of Nogent, who exhibited great disdain for Peter and considered him a charlatan, helped to popularize the idea that many of Peter's followers were the poor and the ignorant rabble of society.⁶³ On the other hand, among those who joined Peter's effort were some significant lords such as Walter of Boissy-sans-Avoir in the Ile de France, who raised a company of knights and infantry that reached Constantinople as early as July of 1096.⁶⁴ However, regardless of how we delimit the participants, there is a darker side to this popular religious enthusiasm. Beginning in Lorraine, Peter's tone of preaching within the cities along the Moselle and the Rhine stirred up antagonism against the Jews. The preaching emphasis on the need to avenge the abuses of Jerusalem, the site of Christ's crucifixion, may have played on the minds of his more naïve followers. When Peter reached Cologne in April of 1096, violence erupted against the large Jewish community there. It spread quickly to several other communities, including Speyer and Mainz, where, according to various Hebrew sources, the followers of the arch-persecutor Count Emich of Flonheim (1054–1117) justified their rampage with claims that "All this the Crucified has done for us, so that we might avenge his blood on the Jews."⁶⁵

In this pogrom there were many executions and forced conversions that bore the stain of a widespread public misuse of the symbol of the crusade. No medieval Christian doctrine, including that of the developing support for the just and holy wars, justified the action of the Rhinelanders against the Jews. As late as 1063 Pope Alexander II had specifically prohibited such action. But the modern assessment of Tyerman rings true here that, "The preaching of the cross emphasized meritorious Christian violence, the legitimacy of revenge and religious vendetta and the suffering of Christ crucified."⁶⁶ Thus, it is not such a stretch to imagine why those who took the cross at Rouen, could rationalize that it was better to start the crusade at home where "in front of our eyes are the Jews, of all races the most hostile to God."⁶⁷ The events of 1096 along the Rhine confirm a

⁶² Scholarly interest in this aspect of the crusades began early in the twentieth century. For example, Frederic Duncalf, "The Peasants' Crusade" (1920–1921).

⁶³ Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 35.

⁶⁴ Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 79.

⁶⁵ Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 104, who cites the Mainz Anonymous as found in *The Jews and the Crusaders* (1977), 108. Also, see Kedar, "Crusade Historians and the Massacres of 1096" (1998).

⁶⁶ Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 104.

⁶⁷ Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 104. Source for the quote is not identified clearly by Tyerman.

negative aspect of the evolution of the public culture and the public pulpit within it. As the crusade became a public event requiring zeal and enthusiasm, arousing religious zeal could have dire unintended consequences.⁶⁸

Further reflection on the impact of the First Crusade calls attention to ways in which the public sphere was being expanded and manipulated in the Middle Ages. The dynamics of eleventh-century Europe, its growth in population and wealth, its urbanization and increasing social mobility, and its growing collectivization all presented an opportunity for 'the Church' which Urban seized in 1095.⁶⁹ The evidence of the charters supports this view of expansion. As one compares the charters of the Carolingian era with those of the eleventh century you find that in addition to the ecclesiastical and secular princes featured earlier, the lesser lords, castellans and *milites* appear regularly.⁷⁰ The work of Barthélemy on charters indicates that they were becoming more dynamic in the sense that people were presented as reacting to events and in a broader societal context than simply the local, or at best, regional framework of before. There are regional differences in diplomatic practices, but overall events such as the First Crusade were being treated as part of a bigger picture, with notice being taken of the relationships among individuals and groups, in other words a growing sensitivity to things "public."⁷¹ The content of the charters related to pious benefactions reveals "that a wider social range of people was being encouraged to involve itself;" thus the Church had to be more sensitive to those who could support its interests, especially the lay lords and knights who were being asked to mortgage their property in preparation for a crusade.⁷²

More and more in this era one finds mention of the crusades as the context for the transaction being recorded, thus further affirming that the "First Crusade was a memorable event which made a wide impact."⁷³ The idea of penitential war represented by Urban II for the First Crusade also became popular throughout Europe in the decades after 1099. Papal opponents in Cambrai in 1103–1104 were fought by Robert of Flanders and his band of knights who were provided

68 This issue of popular enthusiasm is considered more thoroughly in the medieval context by Dickson, "Encounters in Medieval Revivalism" (1999).

69 France, "Patronage and the Crusade's Appeal" (1997), 14–17.

70 Bull, "The Diplomatic of the First Crusade" (1997), 36.

71 Barthélemy, *La Société dans le Comté de Vendôme de l'An Mil au XIIe siècle* (1993), 11, 14–15, 28–69, and 91–101. See the summary in Bull, "The Diplomatic of the First Crusade" (1997), 36–37.

72 Bull, "The Diplomatic of the First Crusade" (1997), 39.

73 Bull, "The Diplomatic of the First Crusade," (1997), 43. Also, see Bull, "The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade" (1993), 360.

remission of sins for their “just knighthood.”⁷⁴ For a while at least the laity was being given public guidance and public opinion was favorable to such actions by the Church. Those who went to the East were admired and crusade memories pervaded western culture, especially among the warrior elite for generations thereafter. Yet what followed was not what one might expect despite the awakening in the public sphere.

The Second Crusade

Turning next to those events of the Second Crusade (1146–1148) which reveal perhaps most about the evolution of the public sphere, two aspects in particular stand out. First is the calling of the crusade by Pope Eugenius III (r. 1145–1153) and how his approach compared with that of Urban II. Second, there is the European reaction to the failure of that crusade and how it affected the opinion leaders, especially Bernard of Clairvaux.

When Eugenius III came to the papal throne in 1145 the attention of Europe was not on military events in the Holy Land. Instead of ongoing military expeditions to bulwark the beachhead and initial settlements established in 1099, those traveling to Jerusalem after 1100 were most often pilgrims who would not remain. The religious attraction of Jerusalem was also being abused cynically by some, like the aging long-time papal nemesis Henry IV of Germany and the murderers of Thomas Becket, who offered to go on pilgrimage in return for resolution of their conflicts with the Church.⁷⁵ Yet, the numbers of true pilgrims became so great that their protection became a major concern for the papacy. By 1131, as a matter of public health and safety, two orders of military knights (Templars and Hospitallers) had been approved to protect Christian pilgrims who came to the holy sites.⁷⁶

The emphasis on peaceful pilgrimage also created confusion in the use of the symbol of the cross. Even though the cross had come to suggest violence as a result of the First Crusade, chroniclers applied the word pilgrim indiscriminately because pilgrims often took the cross and even bore arms, and the privileges to be gained by pilgrims had been approved for crusaders as well. Moreover the papacy made no effort to control the public sphere by a campaign outlining the need for discriminating between a pilgrim and a crusader, nor

⁷⁴ Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 248.

⁷⁵ Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 251.

⁷⁶ Forey, *Military Orders and Crusades* (1994); Malcom Barber, *The New Knighthood* (1994); and, Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 253–57.

did it develop any propaganda to support a process of constant reinforcement of the original crusading army as Fulcher of Chartres proposed.⁷⁷

The failure to develop a concerted effort to maintain the newly-established Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem does not mean that the public memory of its value was fading. If anything, there may have been some smug complacency in the climate of opinion. Indeed, William of Tyre later wrote that Latin Christendom was “fat and slack, having been at peace too long.”⁷⁸ After all, the holy city was now in the hands of Christians. Few in the West had any real knowledge of the conditions in the new territories. The ongoing circulation of the clerical histories of the First Crusade appears to have been limited, so it was up to the breadth of other media communicating to the partially literate communities to keep the glory of it alive. These included oral transmissions of ideas and news; sermons and the hymns of the liturgy; as well as *cantica*, *carmina*, and *chansons de geste*, with the most effective means being verse.⁷⁹ Unfortunately for the papacy, which had no control over much of it, this had not generated a mass movement to inhabit Jerusalem in order to secure its continued success and further Christianization of the Holy Land. There were many factors involved, including the renewal of the threat of heresy in the West. Regardless, when news reached Rome that one of the centers of the Christian Kingdom, Edessa, had fallen to the Turks in 1144, the newly-crowned pope had a difficult decision facing him in this somewhat indifferent public context.

Although one mid-twentieth century historian asserted that Europe was “horried” by the news,⁸⁰ subsequent review of the evidence has not borne this out.⁸¹ Even though there were reports of the fall circulating in Europe from about March 1145, there was hardly any response to Eugenius III when he finally issued *Quantum praedecessores* in December 1145. Thus, he had to re-issue the bull in March of 1146, and carefully orchestrate the taking of the cross by Louis VII and Conrad III of Germany in order to insure that sufficient fighting

77 For further details on the above, see Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 258–67.

78 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, bk. XVI, ch. 18, p. 739, as paraphrased by Rowe, “The Origins of the Second Crusade” (1992), 85.

79 Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 248; for other examples, see 248–51.

80 Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (1964), 2:248. On the absence of great consternation, see, for example, Rowe, “The Origins of the Second Crusade” (1992), who examined three principal sources (Otto of Freising, Odo of Deuil, and William of Tyre), and found little about the western reception of the dissemination of the news therein.

81 For what follows see Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 40–52; Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 273–88. For a more complete overview of the Second Crusade, see Phillips, *The Second Crusade* (2007).

forces would be enlisted for an expedition. The language of the papal bull asserted a strong public image of papal authority over the whole of Christendom. It began with an unwavering assertion of papal jurisdiction, then recalled to mind the success of the First Crusade which established the Latin Kingdom in the East. Portraying the loss of Edessa as a result of the sins of all Christians and its perpetrators as an ongoing threat, the pope called upon the pride of the warrior class to remember the heroic deeds of their ancestors and to renew the fight in return for remission of all their sins.⁸²

This calling to crusade has been interpreted as redefining its basic ideology. Instead of the public image of a “just war,” Eugenius, likely under the influence of his mentor Bernard of Clairvaux, was exercising the Church’s right of coercion.⁸³ Katzir has developed the concept of “papal coercive power” as referring to the case where the failure of the Church to enforce discipline within led first to its use of the right of coercive power to accomplish ecclesiastical reform, but it also was used in the attempt to reform the fighting nobility.⁸⁴ During the eleventh-century reform movement the very idea of the Carolingian ideal of the *Ecclesia* as composed of two parallel hierarchies (lay and clerical) operating under the umbrella of *Ecclesia* was transformed by Gregory VII to an *Ecclesia* wherein the clergy played the supreme role and laity were “passive communicants.”⁸⁵ The First Crusade had transformed the role of the laity by including them in more active roles in “liberating Christendom,” not only from internal secular control, but also from external enemies. This required greater expansion of the public sphere as a place of propaganda and in a clearer definition of the vital elements within that sphere. At Clermont the *militia sancti Petri* became the *militia Christi*. Institutionalization of this broader process continued in the early twelfth century with changes such as the papal title Vicar of St. Peter (*Vicarius Petri*) becoming Vicar of Christ (*Vicarius Christi*), which reinforced the papal claim to “Fullness of Power” (*plenitudo potestatis*) over all elements within the *Ecclesia* as a universal Christendom.⁸⁶

By mid-twelfth century there was confusion over the elements of this tradition of the two swords that required thinkers to clarify the nature of the papal jurisdiction over lay monarchs. The First Crusade as a universal public action had confirmed that lay knights could kill in a just war in defense of the Church.

⁸² Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 274–75; Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 41.

⁸³ Katzir, “The Second Crusade and the Redefinition of *Ecclesia*” (1992), 3–12.

⁸⁴ Katzir, “The Second Crusade” (1992), 9, n. 2.

⁸⁵ Katzir, “The Second Crusade” (1992), 4.

⁸⁶ Katzir, “The Second Crusade” (1992), 5.

Bernard now borrowed the idea of the Church's coercive power to apply to the crusade in general. In his treatise *In Praise of the New Knighthood* (ca. 1136), which was welcome propaganda in support of the Order of the Templars, Bernard wrote: "Let both swords [the two swords of the Church's coercive power] held by the faithful be drawn against the necks of the enemies."⁸⁷ For Bernard those monarchs who drew the sword were to use it at the command of the papal authority and on behalf of "the Church." When Eugenius III called for a new general crusade of all Christendom in 1145–1146, he reinforced the Church's coercive power by making explicit that the crusade was the Church's "sword." By taking the papal initiative to appoint lay monarchs as "natural heads" of the army he took control of the public sphere of public power.⁸⁸

The potential use of the crusade for political benefit was also noted by the two major monarchs sought by Eugenius to participate. Louis VII had earlier been at cross-purposes with the Church and had drawn the ire of both Bernard and Pope Innocent II. By 1143 some argue that he had begun to consider a pilgrimage to Jerusalem as penance for his abuses of Church property. So when the call to crusade came Louis might have seen an opportunity to achieve penance, as well as two other less spiritual objectives. First, as a king of the Franks leading a Christian army, Louis could revive the legends of Charlemagne at the head of an army drawn from territories outside his demesne, and also tax the kingdom beyond his own tenants to achieve a recognition of royal authority on a new broader public level.⁸⁹ Thus, the public sphere of Louis as King of France could be enlarged and his public power could be truly enhanced with leverage gained by his role in the most public of political events in Europe at the time—a crusade in which he was being tapped by the head of the Church to be its leader.

Conrad III also had foreseen political gain through involvement with a crusade. His tenure as emperor-in-waiting in Germany was always being contested in one way or another. Anti-Jewish violence along the Rhineland had been sparked a generation earlier by itinerant preachers of the First Crusade. This nightmare now returned in the form of Radulf, a Cistercian monk who had undertaken a very popular preaching tour from Cologne to Strasbourg in the summer of 1146 and was calling for vengeance against the Jews at home before under-

⁸⁷ Katzir, "The Second Crusade" (1992), 7, quoting Bernard, *De Laude*, in *Opera*, 3 (1963), 218: "Exseratur gladius uterque fidelium in services inimicorum." Bracketed elaboration is that of Katzir.

⁸⁸ Katzir, "The Second Crusade" (1992), 8.

⁸⁹ Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 275–76.

taking any campaign abroad against the Muslim.⁹⁰ If carried out, Conrad could not participate in any crusade abroad. These tensions were enhanced by ongoing internecine fighting among the German nobles and between Conrad and Welf VI, who was Conrad's major internal opponent. Conrad had previous military experience in the east and this made his participation in a crusade particularly appealing. The popularity of Radulf's preaching indicated a positive climate of opinion which could also enhance Conrad's reputation and strengthen his hold on German authority if he could manage a crusade.

As the Second Crusade was being mustered, we see the overlapping of three significant public spheres over the issue of power. Eugenius, Louis and Conrad all had something to gain from a successful expedition, but local conditions were acting against their mutual interests at the time that Bernard undertook his preaching campaign to the north and east that had several objectives. In addition to seeking support for Louis VII's leadership of the crusade, Bernard had to suppress the dangerous preaching of Radulf, and obtain the confirmation of Conrad's participation.

At Eastertide in 1146 the pope brought both Louis VII and Bernard to Vézelay for very public propaganda purposes. Louis carried with him the cloth cross blessed by the pope to sew on his garments as a sign of his commitment. Bernard had been formally requested to preach the crusade and this spectacle in central western France was to set in motion the campaign to summon all of Europe to join the expedition. On the platform erected in the open space near the cathedral both were seen close to the pope, with the king being recognized as the papal choice for secular leadership, and Bernard called upon to give the public speech announcing the ecclesiastical goals and purposes. The event was well-staged. Bernard's speech oddly has no remaining direct report, but hearsay indicates that he spoke with emotion of the Holy Land. His subsequent letters to those in widespread regions from England to Bavaria who could not be present suggest his words were "couched in very simple sets of repetitive logic" as he offset the dangers with the promise of salvation.⁹¹ In response the crowd is reported to have exploded wildly in positive affirmation and demanded so many crosses on the spot that the supply ran out. Amidst the crowd, Louis personally affirmed his vow of the cross. His Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine was there along with numerous feudal vassals of the king, some of whom had fought before and others who undertook the new venture.

⁹⁰ Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 282–86.

⁹¹ Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 279. Tyerman suggests the rhythm might have been meant to mimic that of battle.

By all accounts, the Vézelay event was a prime example of a successful use of a physical public space to control the public sphere. Its plan and the staging of it had been executed well, and even before Bernard could take to the road there was an immediate follow-up. Messengers and letters were dispatched to Brittany, England, Bavaria, Lorraine, Saxony, and Bohemia, all regions where knights could be expected to respond favorably based on the current climate of opinion, as well as the record of previous crusaders from these areas. The response was equally rewarding, with a surprising number of recruits coming from Germany, even exceeding the numbers from France, from where the bulk had come in the First Crusade.⁹² Newly formed networks within the monastic orders, especially that of the Cistercians, played a crucial role in facilitating the communication with the public audiences and in preparing the public for the forthcoming preaching of Bernard himself.

After Vézelay, Bernard preached first in France and then Flanders. Already in May he was able to write to the pope that it appeared that as soon as he spoke “the numbers of crusaders multiplied. Villages and towns are empty.”⁹³ By fall, it appears that Bernard was headed to Germany, eager to confront Radulf and meet with Conrad to see if he could persuade him to join the effort despite his domestic problems. Radulf was a two-edged sword in the public arena. On the one hand, many sources tell us that he was very effective in preaching the crusade, and that many joined because of his charisma or were prepared to seal the deal when Bernard arrived. On the other hand, the anti-Semitic diatribe created problems on so many levels that Bernard decided he had to summon Radulf, chastise him for unauthorized preaching, and send him back to his Cistercian monastic cell. Cleverly, Bernard praised the crusade efforts of Radulf, but denounced his anti-Semitic ideas as heresy, which would further isolate him from any public support. In this way Bernard was able to maintain command of the public sphere without alienating potential crusade supporters in the Rhineland. This episode further illustrates how volatile and dynamic the public arena could be. Whether through use of the more vulgar colloquial, or the literate scholastic and logical rhetoric, popular preachers in the mid-twelfth century could turn an audience quickly if they could touch the nerve of public opinion.

Following his success with Radulf, Bernard further displayed his keen sense of the public needs of the secular lords of Germany in his negotiation with Conrad.⁹⁴ At first the king was reluctant to assume the cross in Bernard’s presence.

⁹² Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 281.

⁹³ Ep. 247, *Opera* 8: 141. As found in Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 43; trans. hers.

⁹⁴ For an overview of what follows, see Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 45; Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 286–88.

So Bernard, apparently sensing the stakes within the conflict between Conrad and Welf VI of Bavaria, met quietly with Welf and convinced him to take the cross first. When he came to Conrad again Bernard carried two advantages. First, Conrad would not want to seem less a supporter of the Church than his rival; and second, with Welf away on crusade Conrad did not have to fear manipulations behind his back so much, and he could also go on crusade. Neither one would have any particular advantage in vying for the crown of emperor at a future date, and the crusade would gain two valued warriors. *Fama* and political savvy played key roles as Bernard, Conrad and Welf all kept their eyes on their reputations in the sphere of public opinion.

Bernard continued to preach and also commissioned others in his place in order to extend the public awareness throughout Germany. Meanwhile, Eugenius, who did not choose to preach personally as had his predecessor Urban, appointed many others to do so. After Bernard's success at Vézelay, the pope likely knew that Bernard's charisma and reputation would attract much larger crowds. As at Vézelay, unfortunately, we have no actual records of the sermons preached by Bernard or others. However, we do have a letter that he wrote to Duke Wladislaus of Bohemia that provides some insight into their possible content. It appears that Bernard intended this letter to be read aloud in public, perhaps by bishop Henry of Olmütz, whom Bernard had commanded to lead the organization of the crusade effort in Bohemia. According to Vincent of Prague, the letter was read in the cathedral of Prague to a large assembly, including the Duke, the bishops, the clergy and the "people," upon the conclusion of which Wladislaus and many other princes took the cross.⁹⁵

Bernard's letter illustrates both his rhetorical genius and his understanding of the climate of opinion generated by anxieties of the times. He made the taking of the cross "personal" by focusing on the spiritual wellbeing of those attending. "Consider the hollow pit of your piety, sinners, and stand amazed at it," the text reads, and he goes on to assert that the current crisis in the East is to be seen as part of God's purpose for their salvation.⁹⁶ Next, creating a mental image of the sacrileges being committed on holy soil, with the next target surely being Jerusalem itself, Bernard claimed that the ultimate purpose of the wicked people who

⁹⁵ Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 47–48; citing Vincent of Prague, *Annales*, ed. Wattenbach, *MGH. SS.* 17 (1880), 663. There is an edition of the letter by Jean Leclercq, "L'encyclique de Saint Bernard en faveur de la croisade" (1971). According to Cole, 49, there is not total clarity on the event, such as whether the letter was read verbatim or a surrogate preacher used it as the basis for a sermon; or its outcome, that is, the taking of the cross by Wladislaus which is only inferred by Vincent of Prague.

⁹⁶ Leclercq, "L'encyclique" (1971), 286.

perpetrate these atrocities was to destroy Christianity completely. Continuing the personalization of his message, Bernard called upon Wladislaus and his people to take the cross: "Why do you delay, servants of the cross? [...] you who have the bodily strength and material substance? Take up the sign of the cross[...]. Take up the gift which has been offered to you."⁹⁷ Drawing upon the papal bull *Quantum praedecessores* Bernard then described the gift of the indulgence as an opportunity for personal salvation. In this manner, Bernard, using the theme of unique times earlier proclaimed in his 'sermon,' publicly called upon the pride of the Bohemian warriors to become part of God's army in defense of Christendom.

It is not hard to imagine how the emotion of a public assembly being charged with Bernard's rhetoric could in fact result in the immediate taking of the cross by many from that assembly. By the mid-twelfth century, the use of public assemblies and the staging of the events on behalf of clear political goals suggests that the medieval understanding of the value of the public sphere to control the agenda was fairly well-developed. In his letter to Wladislaus we can perceive several clever uses of fear by Bernard in a public setting to persuade opinion and facilitate action based on it. First, he called upon the listeners to be aware of their sins and the potential for eternal damnation. Anxiety over hell was real in the medieval world, but there was also the more immediate fear that the ongoing attacks by the Muslims could end Christianity and lead to more Christian warrior deaths in this world. Finally, the process of public opinion is such that if other knights were taking the cross, then many would likely fear public isolation and humiliation if they did not accede to the popular emotional tide of current opinion in favor of a new expedition.⁹⁸ Regardless of the makeup of the public, the combined dread of death and eternal pain plus the loss of honor were powerful tools in the medieval public sphere.

All the careful preparation and full-scale public efforts of the papacy to assemble this new expedition were successful.⁹⁹ In May of 1147 Louis and Conrad both fulfilled their vows and left for the East at the head of an army bolstered with confidence that they would achieve the goals set by the pope. Unfortunately, this was not the outcome; instead, the Second Crusade ended in abject failure at Damascus in July of 1148, and a new direction began for public opinion re-

⁹⁷ Leclercq, "L'encyclique" (1971), 286–87.

⁹⁸ On the process of public opinion and so-called downward spiral of the fear of isolation, see Noelle-Neumann, *The Spiral of Silence* (1993).

⁹⁹ For a brief summation of the details on the planning, recruitment, and organization of the expedition, see Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 289–301.

garding the crusading efforts of the papacy and the public role and reputation of Bernard.¹⁰⁰

Public Opinion is fickle and cruel. Ignoring the heavenly gain of those who died in the effort, critics quickly turned on those who had preached and promised rewards for participating in this sacred war. Various annalists complained that the crusade had achieved nothing and that Europe had suffered great humiliation and the loss of many fathers.¹⁰¹ Otto of Freising (ca. 1114–1158), the major historian of the Germans at this time, indicated that he did not want to write tragedy and refused to say anything about the expedition even though he took part.¹⁰² Most of the criticism was directed in a personal way toward Bernard and Eugenius as well, but various rationales were used to explain the failures.

The public imagination was stimulated greatly by the Christian defeat. Some annalists wrote that it was the fault of the physical conditions of the desert; others blamed the avarice of Louis and the patriarch of Jerusalem; some, the malice of the Byzantine emperor; others, the treachery of the Templars, who allegedly feared that crusader success would cause a loss of tributes being paid to the Templars for their protection of pilgrims.¹⁰³ John of Salisbury, always a student of the political structure of society, took aim directly at the leaders and blamed the infighting and personal greed of two important bishops for the breakdown of discipline needed for success.¹⁰⁴ Overall, however, it seems that the public was persuaded to favor the opinion that the immoral behavior of the crusaders, their arrogance and sexual promiscuity in particular, had alienated God, and in his anger he permitted their defeat. In the words of one anonymous chronicler, “God was not with them.” In the next stage, shock turned to anger by the critics, who looked for scapegoats.¹⁰⁵

The annalist of Würzburg first focused on crusade preachers in general, whom he labeled “pseudo-prophets, sons of Belial, witnesses of Anti-Christ [...] set forth to deceive Christians with their empty words.” He even held the preachers directly responsible for the great loss of life because they were so persuasive in attracting large numbers of the populace, from ordinary men to bish-

100 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 52–61. For details of the campaigns of the crusade see Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 304–38.

101 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 52, n. 67, cites the *Annales Brunwilarenses*, the *Annales Egmundani*, and the *Gesta abbatum S. Bertini Sithiersium*, among others.

102 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 53–54, citing Otto's *Gesta Frederici* I.44, p. 375.

103 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 53, for specific citations.

104 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 53–54.

105 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 54.

ops, dukes and kings to go off blindly and foolishly to their deaths.¹⁰⁶ Then he turned his wrath on the pope and Bernard, who he at least implies were collaborating in a plot against the kings to weaken them. For our study of the emerging public sphere it is also important to note that this annalist was critical of the broad distribution of their letters seeking recruits because he regarded them as propaganda that influenced a wide spectrum of the *populus* to take the cross.¹⁰⁷

The criticism was felt deeply by both Eugenius and Bernard. Louis VII was embarrassed and wanted to avenge the loss by launching another crusade. However, the pope wrote to Louis's key advisor and spiritual director, the Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, that this should not occur because of the "serious detriment which was suffered in our time by the Christian name and God's church" as a result of the Second Crusade, and he added that just thinking about the deaths of so many great men led him to be "convulsed with a great fear and experience a resurgence of inconsolable grief."¹⁰⁸ Of course, Eugenius had also to face the question of how this expedition which was publicized as being ordained by God could end in such a disaster. In writing to Conrad, the king who suffered the greatest loss of prestige and personal embarrassment in his homeland, the pope could only say that it was part of God's plan and that the king must not lose faith in God.

Bernard was also shaken by the defeat of the Christian army that he had helped build. Abbot John of Casa-Maria felt empathy and wrote to Bernard offering the consolation that as far as personal salvation was concerned the crusade had not been a failure because so many had died fighting for God.¹⁰⁹ As one might expect, Bernard reflected deeply on the disappointment and wrote apologetically in his *De consideratione*, which he addressed to Pope Eugenius, that their critics were wrong. To those who complained he responded that they failed to understand the ways of God, who is merciful, but that the followers of God sometimes, as in the case of the Israelites, have to suffer defeats before ultimate victory. Thus, both Bernard and the pope came to believe that the failure was due to something lacking in the crusaders themselves for which God held them accountable.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 54–55.

¹⁰⁷ Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 55.

¹⁰⁸ Ep. 383, PL 180: 1414, cited in Cole, *Preaching the Crusades* (1991), 55; her translation.

¹⁰⁹ Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 56.

¹¹⁰ Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 57–58.

Regardless of these efforts by the pope and Bernard to understand and explain the failure of the Second Crusade, the public was not soon assuaged.¹¹¹ Public sensitivity to these events followed Bernard to his grave as his *vitae* were revised to justify canonization, and the events surrounding the crusade were minimized. Despite all of his preaching, we have almost no record of what he said about the Second Crusade as he promoted it. Embarrassed and highly disappointed—yes; willing to preach another crusade after 1148—no. Even up to the time of his death it would appear that Bernard still believed in the need for a crusade and that it was divinely inspired and justified.¹¹² However, the faith of the general public was not so strong. Thus, the Christian inhabitants of the Kingdom of Jerusalem had to labor on their own against the ongoing threats and harassments by the Muslim leader Nur-ad-Din Zengi and his followers until the time of Saladin, whose recapture of Jerusalem in 1187 finally moved the public enough to launch another general crusade.

Innocent III and Crusading as the Center of the Public Sphere

The thirteenth century was filled with crusades—against the Muslims in the Holy Land; against heretics in southern France; the ongoing *crusada* to drive the Muslims from Spain; a crusade against pagans in northern Europe; and even crusades against fellow Christians in Byzantium and in Europe. In this volume we cannot explore all the expeditions to see what role each played in the public imagination, but we will focus on the individual whose crusading arguably may have indelibly marked the widest range of public opinion on violence and holy war in the first half of that century.

In January 1198 Lothario dei Conti (b. 1160) came to the papal throne and assumed the name Innocent III (r. 1198–1216), a name which ironically belies his acumen, determination, and ongoing actions in pursuit of a successful military expedition that was never realized in his own lifetime against the Muslims, but was against Byzantium.¹¹³ Each illustrates something about the importance of the dynamics of the medieval public culture and the importance of the strug-

111 On the demoralization of Europe for the forty years after the failure of Second Crusade, see the overview by Riley-Smith, *The Crusades* (2005), 131–34.

112 Riley-Smith, *The Crusades* (2005), 59.

113 Reasons for his choice of names based on the models of Innocent I (r. 401–417), known for his view of the papacy as the source of law, and more recently Innocent II (r. 1130–1143), for his commitment to unity and a strong defense of the Church, are discussed in Rist, *The Papacy and Crusading in Europe* (2009), 45.

gle to control the public sphere in order to achieve major political objectives that exceed local or regional territorial boundaries. After the Fall of Jerusalem in 1187 the European aversion to crusading caused by the failure of Second Crusade was finally overcome. Following the issuance of a new crusading bull (*Audita tremendi*) by Pope Gregory VIII (r. 1187), and a resurgence of widespread preaching in support of a new expedition, popular opinion had once again shifted enough for elements of the Christian armies of the Third Crusade to finally embark in 1189.¹¹⁴ The popularity of the effort was enhanced by the fact that no less than three major kings had agreed to participate as its leaders, but it had proven to be only partially successful and Jerusalem remained in Muslim control. By 1192, Richard I of England left for home, having been preceded by Philip II of France in 1191, and the death of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, who had drowned in 1190. So, right away Innocent crafted a crusade policy, and by August of 1198 issued his first papal bull announcing a new crusade.

In *Post miserabile* Innocent was clearly angry over the ongoing occupation of Jerusalem by the Muslims, and likely miffed by the failure of major secular lords to achieve the chief objectives of the Third Crusade. Jerusalem had fallen wretchedly in his eyes, with:

[...] lamentable slaughter of the people of Christendom, after the deplorable invasion of that land on which the feet of Christ had stood, and where God, our king, had deigned to work our salvation in the midst of the earth [Ps 73:12].

Therefore, the pope continued:

[...] the Apostolic See, alarmed at the awful recurrence of disasters so unfortunate, was struck with agonizing grief [...] and she raises her voice like a trumpet, trying to arouse the nations of Christendom to fight the battles of Christ [Is 58: 1], and to avenge the injuries done to him crucified.¹¹⁵

Innocent placed emphasis next on the shame of the loss of Jerusalem and even taunted potential crusaders with imagined insulting words lodged by the Muslims to the effect that the Christian God is powerless and the warriors of the West are weak: “Where is your God [Ps 41: 4, 11; 78:10], who can neither deliver himself nor you from our hands! Behold! Now we have profaned your sanctuaries.”¹¹⁶ Moving further, Innocent challenges them—“How then, brothers and

114 For the preaching and other preparations of the expedition see Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 376–99; and Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 62–79.

115 *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 31.

116 *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 32.

sons, are we to rebut the scorn of these insulters?”—and answers his own rhetorical question by urging them to put their trust in God and take up the “spirit of fortitude, the shield of faith, and the helmet of salvation [Eph 6:16–17].”¹¹⁷ In light of the tone of most thirteenth-century crusading messages first sounded in *Audita tremendi* issued by Gregory VIII in 1187, it is puzzling that only in a few places in *Post miserabile* did Innocent allude to the penitential value of crusading with the reward of salvation. “If God has submitted himself to death for man,” he posits, “is man to hesitate to submit to death for God? ‘For the sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed within us’ [Rom 8:18].”¹¹⁸ Modern scholars tend to agree that the *Audita tremendi* was “one of the most important papal letters in crusade history, one that drew upon a number of earlier papal letters and set the stage for later thirteenth-century crusade proclamations.”¹¹⁹ Therein, Gregory bluntly stated his assessment of the reasons for the failure to defend the Latin Kingdom: “We, therefore, should heed and be concerned about the sins not only of the inhabitants of that land but also of our own and those of the whole Christian people.”¹²⁰ Christian knights must prepare for a successful campaign in the Holy Land through atonement by penance and works of piety, that is, through a personal internal reform and cleansing.

This idea of the penitential, namely the lay obsession with human sin and the need for penance to achieve any hope for salvation as drilled into them by clergy, has been suggested as the basis for lay enthusiasm for the First Crusade.¹²¹ But this theme is not so strong in *Post miserabile*; instead we find an appeal to pride of the Christian warrior and much more about the logistics of crusading, including material incentives to overcome potential objections of those having to incur great personal expense to property and family while facing even greater personal risk in a war far from home. Because of the more recent proclamation and widespread distribution of *Audita Tremendi* in 1187, perhaps Innocent assumed a climate of opinion that already accepted the penitential nature of crusading. Thus, he may have believed that attention to matters of publicity, logistics, and finance, as well as a sense of urgency were needed in order to overcome procrastination and enable the launching of a crusade within a very short timetable. We do know that the pope operated on the belief that every

117 *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 33.

118 *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 34.

119 *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 3.

120 *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 7.

121 Bull, “The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade” (1993). For a more complete delineation of his thesis, see Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade* (1993).

Christian had an obligation to participate in some way in a crusade.¹²² Still, one wonders whether Innocent may have made a tactical mistake in not appealing more directly to a core lay emotional motive that surely must have been still powerful in the minds of the *populus*, and one that was likely quite important in the success of the lay responses to the earlier crusades.

Regardless, in order to achieve his goal of launching the expedition by March of 1199 Innocent did not rely solely on this encyclical even though it would be read throughout the Christian world. The pope also soon commissioned Fulk of Neuilly to tour and to recruit others to a full-scale crusade preaching mission.¹²³ First a student at Paris, and then a reformer, Fulk seemed ideal in several ways. Especially, he espoused a philosophy of preaching that responded to the call “to preach to all, always and everywhere—to men and women, old and young, rich and poor, day and night, in the public square and in the fields.”¹²⁴ The popular apocalyptic preacher Joachim of Fiore was given the call as well, but he declined. Martin, the Cistercian abbot of Pairis in Alsace, did accept and apparently was quite successful because of his ability to evoke a highly emotional response from a large public audience.¹²⁵ All bishops were of course commanded to the pulpit, and papal legates were delegated to oversee various efforts to assemble an army. Then, Innocent dispatched numerous letters requiring the great churches of Europe to contribute a fortieth of their incomes to the crusade effort. Perhaps most importantly, in his efforts to insure proper funding, the pope opened the crusade to all Christians who would take the crusader vow. Even though an individual might not be able to fight, salvation was offered through redemption of the vow with a money payment. This was a dramatic change in policy that would lead to various complications and further weaken the effort to finance, but it illustrates Innocent’s willingness to pull out all stops to make the public aware and to attract the broadest possible participation.¹²⁶ Finally, after the March deadline disappointingly passed without an army being assembled, Innocent even wrote the emperor Alexius III in late 1199 to request more Byzantine aid to the Christians in the Holy Land, while still exploring

122 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 81.

123 Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 497–500. Regarding others who preached, see Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 85–86. Cole thinks that Fulk’s reputation of success in preaching the crusade may have been exaggerated (87–92).

124 Gutsch, “A Twelfth-Century Preacher—Fulk of Neuilly” (1968), 187.

125 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 92–97.

126 *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 48; Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 481–82.

the possibility of reunion of the two churches in order to strengthen the effort to recover Jerusalem.¹²⁷

Innocent faced numerous other troubles in 1198 and 1199, so the extent of these early and widely-reaching efforts on behalf of a crusade serves to underscore the importance he assigned to crusading and the need to reclaim papal leadership and control of the public sphere. In his obsessive preparations for a crusade the pope maximized the tools of public communication that had evolved since the days of the Peace assemblies—synods, letters, sermons, and his networks for positive persuasion, and even public excommunications to isolate and embarrass those clerics who did not broadcast the call as directed. However, in 1199 the western European climate of opinion was not quite ready for a new crusade.

The public nature of crusading by the opening of the thirteenth century had become so complex that it required a dynamic negotiation involving not only its spiritual leader, the pope, but also a host of “preachers, influential crusaders, territorial princes with their own local concerns, and ordinary Christians with their own views of salvation.”¹²⁸ Innocent clearly recognized this as he came to refer to the crusade as the *negotium crucis*, the business of the cross. Obviously the icon of the cross had important symbolic value that had been long recognized in Christian tradition and was used publicly by religious orders, confraternities and even heretics. In the late twelfth century it became inextricably linked with Jerusalem which “lent the crusade an almost infinite plasticity of application, association, meaning and metaphor while retaining its precise central point of reference.”¹²⁹ In calling for what became the Fourth Crusade in 1204, Innocent skillfully utilized his theology of the cross to finally negotiate the creation of an expedition which he thought he could control.¹³⁰

Innocent understood that to launch an expedition one needed to obtain the commitment of a large number of the secular elite who had the resources to arm, equip, and fight.¹³¹ The ongoing conflict between the kings of England and

127 An English translation of the letter *Multe nobis attulit* (November 1199) to the Emperor is found in *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters and Powell (2013), 38–42.

128 *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 18.

129 Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 480–81.

130 Gilchrist, “The Lord's War as the Proving Ground of Faith” (1993).

131 For the details of what follows, see Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 510–21. For extensive treatment of the Fourth Crusade, one might start with these: *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, ed. Andrea and Whalen (2008); Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. Shaw (1963); Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. McNeal (1966); Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade* (1997); Angold, *The Fourth Crusade* (2003); Phillips,

France, fired by the personal antagonism between Richard I and Phillip II over various events surrounding the Third Crusade, complicated the papal effort. Even though Richard died in 1199, which freed a number of nobles from northern France to take the cross, the process of building an army required ongoing negotiations among those who became individually committed and their lords, their families, and their vassals.¹³² Another negotiation was required over how to reach the Holy Land; would it be an overland trek or a sea voyage. Because more and more the overall strategy to recapture Jerusalem placed Egypt at the center, the necessity of the sea route and for a fleet to be hired was transparent. As the forces slowly came together in Europe, prominent representatives met with the Venetians to haggle over how many ships to hire. Eventually it was decided to outfit enough ships to transport an army of 33,500, and it was agreed that the crusaders had to pay for the fleet themselves. Before a reported crowd of 10,000 in St. Mark's square the Treaty of Venice was very publicly and with elaborate ceremony announced in 1201 and the building of the ships began.¹³³

The ideal crusade envisioned by the Treaty of Venice was never realized. There was not clear leadership among the many nobles who had taken the cross, and the three great counts of France had no real means of binding others who had not been a part of the Treaty. Yet, the promise of payment for a fleet to carry an army of 33,500 depended on many who signed up to crusade *ex post facto* the Treaty. But many did not, instead finding their own way to the Holy Land. In order to try to overcome the confusion and potential loss of funds needed, the major lords selected the wealthy Italian Boniface of Montferrat, whose father had fought on the Second Crusade, and whose family had been involved in the politics of the Holy Land since the late twelfth century. Boniface was willing to embrace the Treaty of Venice, an action which they hoped would persuade others to do so as they continued to recruit while the fleet was being built.¹³⁴

This brief reflection on the public attention given to the assembling of this crusade reminds us of the gap between public opinion and public action. The great propaganda effort brought optimism about the assembly of a large force. However, while the fleet was ready in 1202, the army was not. Estimates vary greatly on how many actually showed up. Villehardouin implied maybe 12,000 overall, while Robert of Clari suggested that only one fourth of the knights and

The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople (2004); and *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions*, ed. Madden (2008).

¹³² For further discussion, see Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 504–08.

¹³³ Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 516.

¹³⁴ Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 517–19.

one half of the infantry expected actually came.¹³⁵ Since this was far less than needed, a debate ensued over how to pay the Venetians. Despite Innocent's command that forty per cent of church income for a year should be dedicated to a crusade fund, both clerical and lay elements of the public had apparently resented this first-ever crusade tax and had not responded in kind.¹³⁶ The burden fell on the crusaders lodged in Venice, and they could not pay the amount needed. A new negotiation ensued and eventually it was agreed that an alternative plan would enable the Venetians to recover their expenses by using the crusade fleet to take control of Zara, a Christian port city, and later Constantinople, the capitol of eastern Christianity itself in 1204.

From the very beginning the decision to divert the crusade was not well-received in the court of public opinion. Upon learning of the change of plans many crusaders deserted right away. Others renewed their public cynicism over the whole effort of crusading itself.¹³⁷ Of course, Innocent, who had spent so much time building a campaign focused on a theology of the cross with Jerusalem at its core, was furious regarding Zara, and likely apoplectic at the capture of Constantinople, though he later came to incorporate these events more positively into his interpretation of God's plan for a Christendom that included both the East and the West.

Immediately following the capture of Constantinople, Innocent must have judged that conditions were not right for an immediate appeal to continue the eastward quest because it would endanger the maintenance of the newly-established Latin Kingdom of Greece. It was not until 1208 that we begin to see a renewal of papal efforts to organize another Jerusalem expedition. The widespread nature of Innocent's efforts is reflected in many forms, including the propagandistic art of manuscript illumination depicting Jerusalem and other holy places. Assuming, as William Durandus noted, that "pictures preached louder than words," a battle was waged "over control of the images, spaces, and places of religious legitimization" in which the Muslims were depicted as idolaters and defilers of the Christian holy places.¹³⁸

Preaching, of course, was also widely employed, and in the tone of penitence witnessed in Innocent's letter *Utinam Dominus* that had been first sounded in *Post miserabile*. Chastising the Christian people for a lack of gratitude for Christ's sacrifice, he again constructed the situation in the East as part of God's plan:

135 Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 525.

136 Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 126–27.

137 Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 169–75.

138 Camille, *The Gothic Idol* (1989), esp. 135 and 137–39.

[...] he has allowed the sign of the salvic cross, on which our very Salvation hung, [...] to be captured by enemies of the Christian faith, to see if, perhaps, his injury touches anyone [...] and arouses him to vindicate the injury done to the cross.¹³⁹

Who should respond to this appeal? Innocent envisioned two types: those who were capable of fighting should take the cross, and those who are not should contribute funds. To insure a widespread response, Innocent named a Cistercian abbot and two bishops as legates to oversee the public campaign, and ordered all local clergy to preach the crusade and to encourage donations.¹⁴⁰ But the ground abruptly shifted when another papal legate, Peter of Castelnau, who had been in charge of uprooting the Cathars and Waldensians in southern France, was murdered in January of 1208, allegedly by an agent of Count Raymond VI (1156–1222) of Toulouse.

The violent death of Peter was the spark to Innocent's keg of dynamite, setting off what has been labeled "one of the most savage of all medieval wars."¹⁴¹ The preaching campaign against the heretics had not been persuasive. Raymond had been accused of harboring heretics and frustrating the efforts of the preachers throughout Toulouse, so Innocent had excommunicated him. Raymond then tried to reconcile with the pope through the papal legate, but Peter's murder was taken perhaps as an unforgiveable personal insult by Innocent, who in March of 1208 summoned the knights of France to a crusade against Raymond. Apparently, for a variety of reasons, the call struck the right chord in the climate of opinion, for the response was immediately and enthusiastically positive.¹⁴²

Although the Albigensian Crusade began with a determinedly honest pursuit of heretics, its violence soon got out of hand. In 1209, at the siege of one center of heresy in Béziers, the mix of inhabitants, who were both acknowledged heretics and orthodox Catholics, supposedly surrendered or at least offered little resistance. Yet, the papal legate Arnaud Aimery, when asked how to separate the population as they were captured, was widely reported to have replied "Kill them all; God will recognize his own!" (or words to that effect).¹⁴³ Estimated to be as high

139 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 101, quoting Innocent III, *Opera omnia*, PL 215: col. 1501; trans. Cole.

140 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (2006), 101.

141 Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade* (1978), 16.

142 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 102. Also, see Rist, *The Papacy and Crusading in Europe* (2009), 3–11.

143 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 103.

as 20,000, the number massacred was perhaps less than half of that, but quite shocking nonetheless in the minds of the public of southern France.¹⁴⁴

Béziers indelibly stamped the character for what followed in two ways. First, it sent a message to both heretics and non-heretics that defense of local customs and a tradition of tolerance could not withstand the invasion of foreign troops who did not understand or respect the heritage, and were bent on expanding territory with the approval of both the pope and the French king. Second, the massacre revealed the extent to which unchecked emotions and violence would be condoned under the banner of a holy war.¹⁴⁵ After Béziers atrocities continued on both sides, with the mass burning of heretics on the one hand, and, on the other, the murder of crusaders and even monks just because they were monks by the heretics. Public order collapsed, the region became an ongoing “no-man’s land,” and there was no room for discussion and compromise for several years to come. Preaching of a crusade against heretics continued and spread to the north of France and even Germany, where it resulted in the so-called “Children’s Crusade” of 1212.

As we have seen before, effective preaching widely in the public sphere could lead to unforeseen consequences. In 1211–12, just as in 1095–1096, popular preachers stirred up crowds in the Rhineland, the Low Countries, and northern France. Those responding with greatest zeal were not the ones most capable of financing and/or fighting a crusade. Instead, those labeled the “*pueri*” gathered, and although they were not all literally children, many in fact were, and most of them came from the non-elite ranks of society. Male and female youths, shepherds, ploughmen, carters and rural artisans were identified. Although it is hard to pinpoint among the possible motives for this response—e.g., resentment of social exclusion, anti-clericalism, socio-economic hardship, dissatisfaction about the failure of the elite to achieve success for the Church against heretics or the Muslims in Spain or the Holy Land—modern historians appear to agree that the core inspiration was religious.¹⁴⁶ Once more, we see the latency of the evolving medieval public becoming aroused by preaching, the primary means of communication that reached the widest possible public and was managed in the public sphere by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Yet, what is especially important about the so-called Children’s Crusade for our tracing of the evolution of the public culture is noted concisely by Tyerman: “[it] reveals a popular and ordered

¹⁴⁴ Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 590–91. I believe Caesarius of Heisterbach reports this as well.

¹⁴⁵ It was events like these that led Pegg, *A Most Holy War* (2008), to argue that it was a pivotal moment in world history that ushered genocide into the West.

¹⁴⁶ Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 608–09.

reaction by sections of the usually silent public, in this case it seems predominantly rural, to the propagandizing of church authorities.”¹⁴⁷ The subsequent absence of a record of what happened to these people suggests that the papacy was caught off guard and how uneasy it must have been as these elements of society gathered. Yet, it also reveals the effectiveness of the propaganda machine in promoting a crusade despite potentially damaging publicity from its then current war against heresy in the south of France. Perhaps it was the popular enthusiasm in this case that convinced Innocent that the negative effects of the diversion of the Fourth Crusade had been overcome.

It is more likely that Innocent had become both wary and weary of the war on heretics and happy to turn toward a new crusade to recover the Holy Land. In May of 1213, for example, reflecting on the attempt to maintain the embattled orthodoxy in Languedoc, he commented that “their protectors and defenders [...] are more dangerous than the heretics themselves,”¹⁴⁸ but he did little to end the violence. At the conclusion of the cataclysm there in 1229, the king of France had annexed it without achieving Innocent’s original goal of eliminating the heresy of the Cathars. Still, the sect was effectively denied open public expression of its beliefs, which put the adherents under a constant public attack that brought about its eventual demise, especially after 1250. Although the crusade in southern France did eventually achieve the public silencing of an alternative to the ecclesial hierarchy that had been a serious contestant for public attention, the pope’s death in 1216 precluded any personal celebration on his part.

In April 1213 Innocent issued the encyclical *Quia Maior* that not only marked the official launch of a new crusade, but in order to attract *militia Christi* solely for the eastern expedition it also pulled back the indulgences originally offered for those fighting on the Albigensian Crusade. For recruitment this proved troublesome. Those fighting in southern France continued to think of themselves as crusaders. In addition, Simon de Montfort, the aggressive crusade leader there opposed the restoration of lands he had captured from the counts of Toulouse and Foix, and which the pope had promised to restore in order to gain their support for the expedition to the East. Simon was so in touch with public opinion that he was able to persuade even the French clergy to support his position at the Lateran Council in 1215 which Innocent summoned to deal with reform and crusade. The nightmare of the Albigensian Crusade did not go away apparently. Animosity generated among the nobles of southern France would ulti-

¹⁴⁷ Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 611. For greater detail on the crusade, see Raedts, “The Children’s Crusade of 1212” (1977); and, Dickson, *The Children’s Crusade* (2008).

¹⁴⁸ Tyerman, *God’s War* (2006), 591–92; quoting a letter of Innocent III dated 21 May 1213, as cited in Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay, *Historia Albigensis* (1998), 189.

mately result in the absence of important members of the aristocracy from the Fifth Crusade, with only Count Henry of Rodez willing to assume the cross.¹⁴⁹

Regardless, the massive public propaganda effort released in conjunction with *Quia maior* perhaps best illustrates how well the pope had come to understand and respond to the climate of public opinion in order to achieve his greatest political objective. Given the failure of the Fourth Crusade and the ongoing agonies of the Albigensian leading to likely resistance, the papal letter opened with an emotional plea based on an “even greater need than before,” and saying, “we cry out to you with a new summons,” which he cast as coming from Christ himself who had died for their sins. Quoting Matthew 16:24: “If anyone wishes to follow me, he should deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me,” Innocent challenged all Christians with the idea that God has now proposed a new test of their faith, but with a renewed opportunity of salvation.¹⁵⁰ To reach a broader audience of potential warriors, he offered feudal terms, comparing them as vassals to Christ who owed Him loyalty and sacrifice as they would a temporal king, lest Christ lose his rightful kingdom on earth. Reminding them that the territories now under Muslim control had once been possessed by Christians, the pope called attention to the prophecies of John’s Apocalypse [Apoc. 13:18] and suggested that the time was now ripe for them to fulfill the prophecy and recapture the Holy Land.¹⁵¹ Here Innocent was likely trying to tap into the growing popularity of the apocalyptic preaching of individuals such as Joachim of Fiore.

After promising the elite the full indulgence needed for their salvation, the encyclical expands the potential audience appeal, by offering “to those who do not make the journey in person, but send suitable men at their expense [...] and to those who even at the expense of another, make the journey personally, we grant the full pardon of their sins. And we desire and concede that *all who donate a suitable amount from their wealth* for the support of the Holy Land may share in this remission.”¹⁵²

Returning to the issue of possible obstacles based on material concerns, Innocent then granted the protection of the Church for the property of those who took the cross, and required creditors to forego any interest payments for those on the expedition. Local secular communities, as well as cathedral chapters and monasteries, were enjoined to provide resources to support the crusade. The cler-

¹⁴⁹ Powell, “Innocent III and the Crusade” (1994), 133.

¹⁵⁰ *Quia maior*, PL, 216: 817–21, as trans. in *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 107–08.

¹⁵¹ *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 108–09.

¹⁵² *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 109; emphasis mine.

gy were enjoined to seek wide participation for those who might take the cross, or as in the language of the letter, “*whoever wishes may receive the sign of the cross*, so that should urgent necessity or a clear benefit require it, the vow can be commuted or redeemed or deferred by apostolic mandate.”¹⁵³ The crusade now became open to all who were willing to take the vow. Even those not physically or financially able in a substantial way, could participate by means of monthly crusade processions, attendance at daily mass or daily prayers, fasting, and alms giving dedicated to the support of the expedition.¹⁵⁴ Thus, no good Christian could say that he or she had no role to play in the forthcoming attempt to rescue the Holy Land from its current misery in Saracen hands.

To insure widespread communication of the message, Innocent issued a second letter (*Pium et sanctum*) which appointed preachers, and a third (*Vineam Domini*) which announced the ecumenical council to be held at the Lateran palace in 1215.¹⁵⁵ In addressing the preachers, Innocent urged them to “get fired up” literally with “zeal for the Christian faith” and “to carry the word of the cross throughout the province” in order “to persuade the faithful with solicitous care” to “avenge the injury of the Crucified.”¹⁵⁶ In the spirit of ongoing reform of the clergy, and in order to provide good models for the faithful, he explicitly commanded the bishops or their designates who might preach to travel with small groups, to reject personal gifts and any signs of opulence as they traveled to spread the word. Finally, he required a report of the details of their travels and with whom they had made contact.

In his third letter (*Vineam Domini*) of April 1213 Innocent used the image that “Beasts of many kinds are attempting to destroy the vineyard of the Lord” in a way similar to how Bernard in his Sermon 65 on the Song of Songs had characterized heretics as foxes in the vineyard. In this era, the imagery of animals was popular throughout all levels of medieval society and was used often in the *exempla* of sermons to facilitate attention and understanding. Innocent envisioned the forthcoming council at the Lateran in 1215 to be a culmination of the long-term reform efforts dating back to the Peace councils and the Investiture Contest. In the words captured in his letter, this was to be an all-encompassing agenda for:

153 *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 110; emphasis mine.

154 *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 111–12.

155 For the text of the second, see *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 112–13.

156 *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 113.

[...] the extirpation of vices and the implanting of virtues, for correcting excesses and reforming customs, eliminating heresies and strengthening faith, for quieting discords and establishing peace, for restraining oppression and favoring liberty, for inducing Christian princes and peoples to aid and support the Holy Land.¹⁵⁷

This careful public staging of the launch suggests that the pope had listened to the public and learned a lesson from the failure of his overly ambitious setting of a deadline for his first call to crusade in 1198–99. Instead of expecting an assembly of the army within seven months, Innocent provided a lead time of two years before the meeting of the Lateran council which he envisioned as the final call.¹⁵⁸ Sensitive to the criticism and consequences of his previous aggressive and impatient treatment of the clerical establishment, Innocent announced that as the time for the council approached he would

[...] with the help of prudent men, investigate in various provinces those matters that demand the attention of the apostolic supervision and to appoint suitable men as procurators of the business of the Holy Land so that, if the sacred council approves, we may personally take up the promotion of this business more effectively.¹⁵⁹

In today's terms, Innocent was going more systematically to test the winds of public opinion, using local opinion leaders as well as his own agents to provide more recent assessments of how much support the crusade would have as the propaganda campaign unfolded. Although we do not learn much of what the ongoing sampling of opinions revealed prior to 1215, we do know that most of Lateran IV was devoted to moral reform. Yet, as a great 'public event,' it was also a huge platform for a further assessment of the public mood.¹⁶⁰ Archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors from all over Christendom numbered around 5000 alone. In addition there were foreign primates representing the Maronites and others, as well as delegates from the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria. The secular world was in attendance with representatives of the Holy Roman Emperor as well as the kings of Europe. With each of the primary delegates attended by staff and servants a vast number must have overwhelmed the city of Rome for the entire

157 *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 2–3, using *Vineam Domini*, as cited in Powell, *The Anatomy of a Crusade* (1986), 16.

158 For elaboration, see Bolton, "A Show with a Meaning" (1995); and Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade* (1986), chs. 1, 2.

159 *Vineam Domini*, in Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade* (1986), 15.

160 For elaboration on Innocent's approach to the staging of Lateran IV, see Bolton, "A Show with a Meaning" (1995).

month of November.¹⁶¹ Having mostly accomplished one of the pope's two main objectives, namely the moral reform he thought necessary to insure a successful expedition to the Holy Land, the council adjourned without formally addressing any of those details.

It was only in December of 1215 that Innocent appended language to the council record that spoke directly to "the business of the Holy Land." Although not officially a canon of Lateran IV the papal decree *Ad liberandum* is a detailed mandate for liberating the Holy Land by *crucesignati*. It outlines the method for the current propagation of the expedition and the role of the clergy in publicizing as well as participating in it. Any Christian found to be supplying the Saracens with any form of aid was to be excommunicated, and the pope, no doubt recalling the Venetian fiasco of 1204, also pledged a significant amount of papal funds to support the venture. Shipbuilders, for example, were directed to build transport for crusaders who were to gather and finally embark from Sicily in two more years (1217). To gird further the finances Innocent imposed a tax of a twentieth on clerical incomes for three years. Although only half of what the pope had unsuccessfully levied in 1198, and this time allegedly with the approval of the ecclesiastic delegates to the council, this was still not well-received by the local clergy. By the language of this encyclical, which was ordered to be disseminated rapidly and widely, we may discern that Innocent likely incorporated advice and consent from those earlier assembled for Lateran IV. His sensitivity to public scrutiny was evident several times in the text where he notes that a particular point in *Ad liberandum* had the support and approval of the council.¹⁶²

By 1215 the European public sphere had been expanded and more maturely prepared to receive a newly-constituted crusade preaching onslaught. However, in its solicitation of a new army, the papacy still had to contend with local and regional politics. In southern France the ongoing presence of northern Frenchmen and other mercenaries in pursuit of heretics under papal authorization largely prevented meaningful participation by nobles from that region. To the north the kings of France and England were at war, with the success of Philip II at the Battle of Bouvines in 1214 generating a more emboldened English nobility who would embarrass John further with the Magna Carta in 1215. Though var-

¹⁶¹ *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters and Powell (2013), 106.

¹⁶² *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 124. For a full translation of canon 71, see 124–29. One issue for a successful propaganda campaign was that of nomenclature. There was no common word for "crusade" at the time. For an introduction to the modern historiography on this and related issues about the term "crusade," and the numbering of the expeditions to the Holy Land called "crusades" by modern historians, see *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters and Powell (2013), 2, especially n. 4.

ious nobles might take the oath of the cross, their actual participation would be difficult to realize even within a two-year lead up to departure for the Holy Land. To facilitate preaching in this complex environment the Church had developed various preaching aids, and began to provide model sermons aimed at specific audiences.¹⁶³

The *Brevis ordinacio de predicacione crucis* (1213–1214) provides a good example of a work compiled specifically for crusade preachers who found themselves in a new era of popular preaching that first developed in the twelfth century.¹⁶⁴ To reach the laity, the vernacular had to be used and the models had to be simple and readily accessible to a divergent public. In the *Brevis*, an assumption was made that in order to persuade a potential taker of the cross the preacher had to help that individual envision the crusade as the best way to achieve salvation.¹⁶⁵ The *Brevis* offered a model in four parts of how to do that. First, one should start with the Fall of Man and his redemption through Christ. Then the preacher should illustrate the doctrine of Christ's Immaculate Conception, before turning to His crucifixion where one should show the potential benefits of that action for mankind. Finally, it was up to the preacher to deal with matters of the spiritual life and death to reinforce the theology of man's fall and redemption.

But how does that translate to the everyday lay person? Well, the crusade indulgence should be explained in order to answer the open question of why does the pope grant it and how does it function. Here the *Brevis* assumes that a potential crusader would understand most readily that he is a sinner, and secondly that there are actual dangers to life in fighting. However, a soldier should find consolation in the thought that he would actually achieve a great resolution of his fear of death because he would be guaranteed salvation. If a warrior fights for the Church instead of personal gain or worldly glory, "it is therefore proper that the church should relieve its warrior [...] and bear his burden: for this reason the lord pope justly remits the crusader's penalty for sins."¹⁶⁶ The *Brevis* also offers suggestions on how to elaborate on various topics, including that of the iconography of cross which provides a way to underline the theme of suffering and redemption in a poignant manner, while it provides another way to discuss

163 For an introduction to the ever-growing literature on preaching the crusades, see Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991). More recently, Bird, "The Victorines, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade" (2004); Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology* (2000); and, Maier, *Preaching the Crusades* (1994).

164 For the text, see *Quinti belli sacri scriptores*, ed. Röhricht (1879), 3–26, as cited in Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 110–26. I use the translation provided by Cole.

165 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 117.

166 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusade* (1991), 120.

issues of defeat and victory. Thus, a crusade is made to appear as the best way to acknowledge sin and guilt, and to achieve repentance, forgiveness, and salvation.¹⁶⁷ At the end of the *Brevis* one finds five *exempla* of stories based on real-life examples, each of which is drawn from events of the Albigensian or the eastern crusades, so as to chide the potential crusader in order to arouse a sense of pride and provide a reminder of one's duty as a Christian knight.

As is the case for most treatises on the art of preaching or collections of model sermons, we do not know how they were actually used or what influence they had. However, I think it is fair to say that they do reflect the climate of opinion about what was believed would be effective in reaching a wide public audience. A more recent anonymous crusade sermon found and discussed by Jessalyn Bird provides a clear example. In this model, scripture, metaphors and *exempla* are used in the quest for crusaders among the laity who were caught up in the everyday quest for worldly riches. It also provides a clear example of how individual sermons might deviate from the models provided in collections like the *Brevis*, but at the same time hold true to the basic assumptions about the overall collective sense of the penitential alive in the Christian public sphere. Likely preached sometime after 1213 in Paris, the sermon begins: "Behold, I will send fishermen to you and they will fish you out and feed upon you [Jer 16:16]. The wisdom of this world is foolishness before God [1 Cor 3:19]," and as Job says, "It cannot be found in the land of those living amidst delights [Jb 28:13]."¹⁶⁸ The preacher goes on to illustrate the various forms of pride and cupidity that entrap Christians—drunkenness, gluttony, usury, and lust being among the most egregious singled out—before offering the image of the seven nets of forgiveness and reconciliation that enable the sinner to enter heaven, especially if one takes the cross, which offers "a shortcut and profitable way" to salvation.¹⁶⁹ The overall weight of the message is clear to all who listen. If you continue your prideful and sinful ways and "die without penance and confession, you will perish without end." But if you are contrite and a penitent you "will fly with pardon to the Lord," especially if you take the shortcut of the cross.¹⁷⁰ Playing on the guilt of the sinner and the fear of eternal damnation that haunted the individual Christian had been a successful ploy before, and it remained a major theme in crusade preaching in response to Innocent III. But it did not address all of the prominent local and regional issues in the minds of the various publics.

¹⁶⁷ Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 122–23.

¹⁶⁸ *Crusades and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 115, quoting the English trans. by Bird, "The Victorines" (2004), 25.

¹⁶⁹ *Crusades and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 115–19.

¹⁷⁰ *Crusades and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 118–19.

In his efforts to control the public sphere on behalf of the crusade, Innocent III found that he could dictate the medium but not the message. He ordered universal preaching, with increased emphasis at the diocesan level, but he also used popular wandering preachers who perhaps he thought he could still control. As early as the issuance of *Quia maior* in 1213, however, this latter calculation proved a mistake in several instances.

One of the handpicked preachers for France was Robert of Courçon (d. 1219), who had been a colleague of Innocent at the University of Paris, and was then serving as cardinal priest of St. Stephen in Monte Celio. Both had formed part of the circle of students following Peter the Chanter where Robert developed an interest in the crusade, and he may have helped Fulk of Neuilly in one of his crusade preaching missions in 1200 or 1201.¹⁷¹ Robert's view of the crusade was scripturally based, particularly in comparing the Old Testament account of the Hebrew conquest of the Amorites with the current need to conquer the Holy Land. Both received God's endorsement for defending a divined inheritance, therefore the war was holy, and any secular Christian prince is justified in his pursuit of the infidels with Church approval. Though Innocent found no quarrel with this view, it is not likely that Robert ever preached this way to potential crusaders, or that he followed a model like that outlined in the *Brevis*.

Despite the promise of success, the preaching mission of Robert of Courçon in 1213–1215 stirred up much opposition because it apparently became a much more personal moral diatribe that angered the local clergy whose habits he criticized, and alienated those laity most likely to serve on a crusade or support it financially.¹⁷² Robert's contemporary William Brito complained specifically that the preacher targeted the wrong audience; instead of the nobles, he recruited "children, the old, women, and those who were lame, blind, deaf, and leprous."¹⁷³ The public negative reaction of both the lay public and the French cler-

171 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 127. Also, with reference to the circle of Peter the Chanter and their interest in the crusade, see Bird, "The Victorines" (2004). On Robert's role as papal legate to France to prepare for the crusades, see Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade* (1986), 33–41.

172 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 128.

173 "et multos cruce signabant indifferenter, parvulos, senes, mulieres, caludos, caecos, surdos, leproso: propter quod multi divites crucem tollere abhorrebant quia huiusmodi confusio praesumebatur potius impedire negotium crucis, quam posse succurrere sanctae terrae." William Brito, *Gesta Philippi Augusti Francorum regis*, RHGF 17: 108, as translated by Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 128.

gy¹⁷⁴ to the overzealous efforts of Robert eventually forced Innocent to cancel his preaching mission at the Lateran Council in 1215.

In contrast to Robert's misinterpretation of Innocent's message to preachers, Oliver of Paderborn (ca. 1170–1227) undertook a very successful mission in Flanders and Germany that paid close attention to *Quia maior*.¹⁷⁵ In 1201 Oliver was teaching theology at Cologne, but in 1207 left for Paris for reasons unknown and somehow caught the attention of Innocent. In 1213 the pope ordered him to preach the cross throughout the entire province of Cologne, including the growing urban communities in Liège, Namur, Brabant, Geldt, and Utrecht. He later attended the Lateran Council in 1215 and continued to preach until he left for the Holy Land in 1218. What we know of Oliver tells us much about how conscientious crusade preachers approached their responsibility and also how they were able to engage the public in a persuasive manner.

To be successful an itinerant preacher of crusades needed attention. Self-discipline, energy, enthusiasm, and stamina were all essential, but one first had to find a way to stand out. Oliver's everyday strategy included religious processions, and the use of local clergy to oversee these events and to collect funds being solicited. But to create an edge, he also disciplined the local clergy who were granting excessive remissions and making false promises to potential crusaders. To grab lay attention, he cancelled a local chivalric tournament as prescribed in *Quia maior*, and used the occasion to preach the crusade so effectively that many men and women reportedly took the cross on the spot.¹⁷⁶ What really stands out in Oliver's case, however, is that he believed that his success was due to divine prodigies.¹⁷⁷ In the words of Penny Cole the interest in Oliver's sermons "lay not in their content but in the supernatural occurrences which frequently attended them."¹⁷⁸ Here we find another reinforcement of the power of saints and miracles in the public sphere. Earlier we traced it in the Peace and relic assemblies of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and now we find its value in attracting crowds to crusade rallies.

But how did charisma of the preacher and the naivety of the audience actually function? As a novice crusade preacher in Frisia, Oliver had not been suc-

174 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 128: "et ita inter clerum et populum materiam scandali et schismatici seminabant."

175 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 129.

176 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 129.

177 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 129. Cole cites Oliver's account of *The Capture of Damietta*, trans. Gavigan (1948), 21, as the source.

178 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 130. Also, see Moolenbroek, "Signs in the Heavens in Groningen and Friesland in 1214" (1987).

cessful and was about to give up until one day two golden crosses allegedly appeared miraculously in the sky above an assembled congregation. Immediately they assumed the cross, and he had little trouble thereafter attracting an audience or signing up crusaders.¹⁷⁹ The stories that subsequently spread about Oliver “infused his words with an extraordinary power to raise men’s spirits above the mundane and translate the resulting religious energy into the action of crusading.”¹⁸⁰ We can imagine how difficult, dynamic, and fickle the medieval public response could be to preaching. You could do whatever needed to drum up an audience in a local festival, then find that your words might mean nothing until a miraculous sign appeared. The death of a local noble might end the quest in that region, or the bellowing of a madman might drown out the preacher.¹⁸¹ Without an audience listening, charismatic words were worthless in the public culture.

The challenge of attracting and influencing audiences was well understood by successful and effective preachers, a number of whom wrote treatises in the thirteenth century on the art of preaching the crusade or provided collections of sermons *ad status* addressed to crusaders or potential crusaders. One of them, Jacques de Vitry (ca. 1160–1240), developed a reputation as a popular preacher and shortly after the death of Innocent III in 1216, he was ordered to preach the crusade in Acre where he had just been appointed bishop by Honorius III. His works and their interaction and influence on others illustrate the dynamic of the public sphere in the context of crusade preaching. Jacques collected themes and *exempla* which he likely used when he preached the crusade, and which he thought might be effective for others. In fact, his influence on the Franciscan Guibert of Tournai as he later composed his sermons to crusaders has been traced.¹⁸² Jacques de Vitry preached his own outrage over the degradation of Jerusalem at the hands of the Saracens and called upon Christians to respond as good vassals of God and perform their duties to fight on behalf of their Lord. But he must have understood the frustrations of preaching the crusade after so many failures, especially living in the time of the expedition of 1204, so he wrote a sermon to encourage preachers not to give up. Since the cross has salvatory value, it is at the center of his sermon to preachers. Crusade preachers, according to de Vitry are especially favored by God because they preach at God’s command and they operate as a bridge between God and his people. By

179 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 130.

180 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 131.

181 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 131.

182 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 133.

elucidating the mysteries of the cross, the preacher strives to unite the audience and motivate it to dedicate itself to a common action, that is, the crusade as a collective spiritual activity.¹⁸³

Having lived and traveled in Europe and the Holy Land throughout the era of the Third and Fourth Crusades, de Vitry was sensitive to potential objections to the launching of another expedition.¹⁸⁴ People were wondering why God's omnipotence, for example, did not simply result in freeing the Holy Land and returning it to Christian hands. They also questioned de Vitry's assertion that God rewarded crusaders who failed to achieve their military objectives. To the latter, he responded in *Ad cruce signatos* that, "Although Christians have not recovered the Holy Land, nevertheless they have earned their eternal reward since they have toiled for its recovery."¹⁸⁵ On the other side, those who procrastinate in taking the cross or in performing the duties of their vow, or prevent others from doing so, are likely under the influence of the devil and should be condemned.¹⁸⁶

Herein, insight is provided as to the difficulties presented to preachers by the way Innocent had opened the crusade to all comers. Preaching the crusade to the diversity of the medieval public meant that the effective sermon would have to delineate various values to the potential soldier, elicit financial support from the non-combatant, and offer spiritual benefit to all. In response to feedback from the public sphere, Innocent varied his crusade plans and demonstrated greater patience in executing them. At this point even the most powerful in medieval society could not ignore the opinion leaders at the local and regional levels in an effort to mount a universal war effort that affected so many at all levels of society.

This latest crusade preaching mission had begun in 1213, but after 1215 it was further intensified in order to reach the greatest numbers possible. Every diocese from Rome to Scotland and Sweden in the north to Hungary in the European east, and even to Acre in the Holy Land where the charismatic de Vitry was appointed bishop and sent to preach in 1216, was required to propagate the crusade with enthusiasm.¹⁸⁷ What little we know about the preaching itself is still revealing about the ways in which the medieval public struggled with the challenges of crusading. By the thirteenth century each call to a new crusade became a major

183 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 134.

184 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 138.

185 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 138, who cites "*Ad cruce signatos*," ed. Pitra, *Analecta novissima* (1885–1888), 2: 427.

186 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 138–39.

187 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 127–41. Also, see Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 618–22.

ongoing religio-politico event that formed the heart of the evolution of the medieval public sphere. Debates about the need, the value, the validity, the costs, the roles of various spiritual and secular political leaders, and how to interpret God's message in relation to the ongoing failure to conquer and maintain the Holy Land are a few examples of the political fodder for that sphere.

The Public Voice Questions the Value of Crusading

What is remarkable about de Vitry and others who offered advice on crusade preaching is the way these treatises reflect both the urgency to renew crusade expeditions and the ever louder public voice of criticism of the papal effort to recover the Holy Land. Beginning with Palmer Throop in 1940 modern scholars have long cited and analyzed the criticism to determine the nature of its impact on crusading in the thirteenth century leading up to the fall of the last Christian stronghold at Acre in 1291.¹⁸⁸ Preaching treatises are not the only source of crusade criticism as Elizabeth Siberry noted in her disagreement with the thrust of Throop's argument that pessimism prevented the assembling of efforts needed for a full-scale crusade in the late thirteenth century. Instead, she countered that "there is no evidence to justify the claims that the thirteenth century saw a significant decline in popular enthusiasm."¹⁸⁹ It is only fair to point out that the chronologies covered by Throop and Siberry were not the same; he focused on the latter third of the thirteenth century while she on the entire period of the major crusades from 1095–1274. Moreover, her conclusion does not really conflict with that of Throop when he asserts that by the late thirteenth the papacy had preached too many wars at home to arouse another directed to the Holy Land.¹⁹⁰ It is possible to conceive of a climate of opinion wherein the ideal of the crusade continued to be popular, but not the reality of an expedition.

Overall, in reviewing the various forms of evidence, scholars acknowledge the existence of public criticism, but do not agree on its impact. Regardless, from the twelfth century on the medieval public sphere became a platform for

188 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940). Also see Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), for a bibliography of works into the 1980s. Herein we focus on criticism of crusading in the aggregate rather than the specific complaints of contemporaries regarding aspects of any one crusade, such as the hostility to a particular crusade preacher such as Robert of Courçon, or the approach to vow redemption required by *Quia maior*. For examples of the latter, see Tyerman, *God's War* (2006), 620–21. Cf. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade* (1986), 33–41.

189 Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 220.

190 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 284–85.

debate about the need for and the extent of the sacrifices required to achieve the ongoing papal goal of reconquering and maintaining the Holy Land as a Christian-controlled territory. Whereas earlier in this chapter we have concentrated on the papal efforts to promote the crusade and how those were received and acted upon, this part of our study will focus on the criticism, the arguments against the crusade, and how and to what degree our sources represent and may have influenced a broad cross-section of the public culture.

Crusade Criticism and its Influence on Public Opinion and Public Culture

Criticism of the crusades was evident from the time of the failure of the Second, and from that point forward one of its major themes became the sins of the crusaders themselves as the reason for failure. The overall shock caused by the spreading news eventually led to another stage, namely anger that became vented on the crusade advocates. Various anonymous chroniclers, such as those of Ghent and Würzburg in mid-twelfth century, commented first that “God was not with them,” then blamed the preachers of the crusades, labeling them as unworthy “pseudo-prophets, sons of Belial, witnesses of Antichrist” who “set forth to deceive Christians with their empty words” to persuade them to war against the Saracens.¹⁹¹ This is an interesting ploy in the critique, used widely in the public sphere, even by the popes. It could be applied both to explain and condemn expedition failures and at the same time provide a rationale for launching another. Practicing Christians recognized the wages of sin and feared the punishment. Cynical observers of the crusade could argue that no matter how the rationale and potential gains from an armed pilgrimage were preached, the armies were doomed to failure because either Christians had misread God’s plan or the sins of the participants were so great that God would not reward their efforts to regain the Holy Land. On the other hand the advocates could argue that the crusade indulgence offered total forgiveness for those sins if the sinner was contrite at the time of death. Even if they failed on crusade, the individual warriors could still gain heaven.

The annalist of Würzburg clearly blamed the clerical leaders for the failure of the Second Crusade. He attacked both Pope Eugenius III and Bernard of Clairvaux directly for misleading the kings, and he even scorched their method of public dis-

¹⁹¹ *Ex anonymi Blandiniensis*, 20, and, *Annales Herbipolenses*, 3, respectively, as quoted in Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 54; trans. hers.

semination of the incentive of the indulgence so as to reach an even broader audience. The annalist especially focused on the letters that “were directed everywhere [...] and were carefully kept in the churches to the proclamation of this expedition.”¹⁹² His description of the methods of promulgation provides insight into the workings of public opinion by calling attention to preaching and “public letters” to promote awareness and activate discussion on behalf of a major political action. Was this hyperbole on the part of the annalist or was he really effective? According to him, men and women, poor and rich, princes and nobles, clerics and monks, bishops and abbots all “hurried to it.” There is no evidence that anyone disputed the claim.

In reviewing the evolution of medieval public opinion we are not arguing that it spontaneously sprang from below, but that the Church was aware of the need for its support and tried to influence it. In this case, however, it is more likely that the writings of the chroniclers may in fact represent a grass roots expression. For example, there is other evidence to indicate that the annalist of Würzburg was not alone in his criticism. Even Pope Eugenius appears to have felt it when he wrote to the Abbot Suger of St. Denis to try to persuade him to influence Louis VII not to launch a new crusade effort because of the “serious detriment which was suffered in our time by the Christian name and God’s church.”¹⁹³ The pope had access to input from his bishops and abbots all over Christendom and surely sampled it before writing to Suger. Eugenius’s successor Adrian IV (r. 1154–1159) later again wrote to Louis asking him not to collaborate with Henry II of England in a proposed crusade in Spain at a time when Louis’s earlier failure had disgraced the Church so much that “everybody cried out against it in great indignation.”¹⁹⁴

Reputation is important in the court of public opinion. Bernard responded to those critics who pointed out that the Saracens were mocking Christians who had embarked on a crusade at God’s will only to be sorely rebuked with defeat. Not a rebuke, said Bernard, but a reminder that the ways of God are unknowable by man. For solace, he offered the example of the Benjaminite wars of the Israelites in which it took two defeats before God allowed them ultimate victory.¹⁹⁵ Thus, he urged the pope to continue the effort to crusade, but suffering one

¹⁹² *Annales Herbipolenses*, 3, as trans. in Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 55.

¹⁹³ Eugenius, *Ep.* 382, *PL* 180: 1414, as cited and trans. in Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 55.

¹⁹⁴ Adrian, *Ep.* 241, *PL* 188: 1616, as cited and trans. in Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 56.

¹⁹⁵ Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 58.

too many times the stings of the public vitriol Bernard did not volunteer to get out in front of such an effort again.

By the time we reach the second quarter of the thirteenth century and the miscarriage of three other major Jerusalem expeditions, criticism of crusading became more intense and more complex. In the medieval world, instead of measuring public opinion by polls, we must often take note of the weight of the efforts to influence it and the behavior of those affected by it. The ever-increasing cost of the military expeditions led the popes to systematize the financing effort with the implementation of taxes on both clergy and the secular monarchs. This caused great consternation among both the laity and the clergy, and brought more attention to the overall issue of crusading as opposed to the matter of the moral quality of those who fought. As we have noted above Innocent III took very calculated measures to enhance preaching and used his encyclicals to justify the taxes necessary for each crusade, but some major constituencies still plead exemption. The Cistercians were able to escape the tri-annual tax but not the Spanish, even though they had their own crusade ongoing against the Muslim forces in the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁹⁶ Royal taxation was no less favored of course, especially the Saladin Tithe of 1188 levied by the kings of England and France to support their armies on the Third Crusade. All clerks and lay persons who had not taken the cross were required to pay a tenth of their income. This was no longer a voluntary donation and it opened the collection to public oversight by giving collectors the right to investigate those who they believed had not been honest in paying. Their cases were to be judged by “four or six law-worthy men,” and all were subject to imprisonment if they rebelled or refused to pay the revised assessment.¹⁹⁷

The details of this program of papal taxation suggest two things about the public reaction. First, it is likely that a lot of individuals were resisting the crusade effort; and secondly, there was widespread bitter resentment, whether by those paying or those rebelling against the tax. In England, prominent clergy, including the dean of St. Paul’s, the historian of Durham, and the prominent chronicler Ralph of Coggeshall all protested. Disfavorably, Ralph of Niger compared the size of the levy in England with that of the Emperor Frederick II, and cautioned those who might take the cross that God might not bless such a mission since it was being funded by robbing the poor.¹⁹⁸ One thing driving the public anxiety of the English critics was the fear of precedent. An income

¹⁹⁶ Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 112–13.

¹⁹⁷ Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 121.

¹⁹⁸ Niger, *Chronica universalis*, 338, as cited in Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 121.

tax now, even for the worthy cause of God's war, might lead to such a tax for any reason the king chose in the future, which in fact happened when John assessed it for his campaign against the French in 1207.¹⁹⁹ Regardless, it is becoming more evident how complex the issue of crusading was getting in the public sphere, especially as it became entangled with local politics within the rising secular states.

Apparently the papal taxes against the clergy bore the brunt of most complaints by the middle of the thirteenth century. When Innocent III levied the initial clerical income tax in 1199, the resistance was immediate, as indicated by the behavior of those clerics who kept delaying payment. It continued as John of England objected to the loss of revenues from his kingdom in 1207, and the pope had to write directly to the bishops of Ely and Norwich to complain that they had not paid the fortieth and should now turn it over to the Templars in London for delivery to Rome. Other parts of Europe were no less resistant. Earlier, the French clergy had been reminded that the amount they owed was a fortieth, not a thirtieth which they apparently had tried to negotiate. Scandinavian clergy had agreed at first, but several years later asked to pay in kind so that they would not bankrupt their churches. Although the amounts levied were varied over time, a tenth for the Albigensian Crusade, for example, it is clear that the clergy often resisted the crusade income tax. Even though the rationale for resistance was not always consistent, it was there. The English clergy in particular resisted the subsidies of 1239 and 1244 levied for the war against Frederick II on the grounds that they could not support a crusade against fellow Christians. By mid-century the never-ending papal demands seemed to have exceeded the grasp of the Holy See, to the point that the call for a triennial twentieth for a new crusade to the Holy Land at Lyons I in 1245 was opposed.²⁰⁰ Even the saintly king Louis IX found himself rejected by his French nobility who opposed a levy of tenth that had been approved by Pope Innocent IV, who along with the king, was accused of avarice. According to Joinville, this was unusual since Louis had never before received complaints about his demands for money.²⁰¹

Another mid-thirteenth century phenomenon was likely playing on the effectiveness of crusade preaching by the mendicants who by this time had become the major delegates of papal authority. The immediate papal successors to Innocent III struggled with how best to reach the lay audience. Honorius III (r. 1216–1227) had sought advice on how best to organize the crusade effort from Jacques

¹⁹⁹ Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 122.

²⁰⁰ Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 135.

²⁰¹ Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 137.

de Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn. Jacques prepared a *Historia Hierosolimintana*, with his second book, the *Historia Orientalis* (History of the East) providing intelligence on the conditions in the Holy Land.²⁰² It became very popular, even used as propaganda for the crusade of Frederick II, and later by Humbert of Romans as he drafted his response to Gregory X's call for treatises on the obstacles to his plans for crusading prior to meeting the clerical hierarchy at Lyons II in 1274. With this information in hand, Honorius called upon the local churches and minsters and papal legates to preach, but found them unreliable. The Cistercians were considered, but preaching still conflicted with the basic contemplative monastic goals of the order. It was Gregory IX (r. 1227–1241) who turned to the friars, who were the first orders created with the aim and training for preaching. Since they pledged obedience to the papal see and not local ecclesiastical hierarchies, greater opportunity for a more uniform message and control of the public sphere was afforded. Gregory first employed individual charismatic friars such as John of Wildeshausen and Ramón Penyaforte, but by the 1230s he started using the friars *en bloc* for all the major and most minor crusades in many geographical arenas throughout Christendom.²⁰³

This reshaping of papal strategy drew criticism of the performance and the reputation of both Franciscans and Dominicans from many directions. In England in 1235, for example, Matthew Paris accused Pope Gregory IX of encouraging the mendicants to artificially enhance the audiences for their preaching by using local archdeacons to rouse a crowd or face anathema on themselves.²⁰⁴ He also alleged that they were neglecting their vows and violating the sanctity of the traditional monasteries by setting up their own altars and hearing confessions, which was an affront to both the monks and the secular clergy. Though the abuses were reportedly addressed by the pope to the satisfaction of the local clergy, this did not prevent Matthew from accusing the friars of being “fishers of coins,” and not men, when the call to a crusade was issued in 1240 and they began the crusade-preaching enterprise.²⁰⁵

202 Bird, “The *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry” (2003).

203 Maier, *Preaching the Crusades* (1994), 3–4, 34. For studies of the crusade preaching of the friars in various specific regions, see Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century* (1977), 65–69, 91–93, and 138–61, regarding the role of the friars as propagandists for the Baltic crusade, anti-Hohenstaufen crusades in Germany, and crusades against heretics. For Italy, see Housley, *The Italian Crusade* (1982), 111–44. For England, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade* (1988), 8–41; and Tyerman, *England and the Crusades* (1988), 752–86.

204 Thomson, “The Image of the Mendicants in the Chronicles of Matthew Paris” (1977), 18.

205 Thomson, “The Image of the Mendicants” (1977), 19–20.

Although Matthew Paris had his own personal bias against the interference of the Church hierarchy in local matters of England, his response to these episodes reflects three aspects of the evolving public culture. First, a monk of a well-respected orthodox monastery could engage in open criticism with impact. Second, personal as it might have been, Matthew would not likely have expressed his opinion so openly without a good sense that he was not alone and that he was in touch with the wider climate of opinion that was not respectful of the reputation of the friars and resentful of their crusade preaching tactics. Third, the incidents reflect both an increasing “nationalism” that could undermine effective crusade preaching, and a clerical awareness of these trends that could not be ignored if they wanted to control the public sphere.

Criticism of crusading was widespread, but it was not well-organized or coming from a particular sector of society, though that of the court poets of southern France begs special consideration. Siberry has argued that the Albigensian Crusade brought about “vociferous protests from certain Provençal troubadours. But the extent of this opposition has been exaggerated.”²⁰⁶ The bulk of the remaining evidence, for example, makes little reference to the crusade.

There were a few sources that eventually criticized the crusaders, especially since they were invaders from the north. In the continuation of *La Chanson de la croisade albigois*, for example, we read “the clerks and the French wish to deprive the count, my brother-in-law, of his inheritance and chase him from his lands, though no one can accuse him of error or wrongdoing.”²⁰⁷ Perhaps many others shared this view about what was happening. As Guilhem Anelier put it, “The church was greatly lacking in wisdom when it wished to establish the French here where they have no right to be.”²⁰⁸

Though most troubadours focused their songs on love not war, they did pay attention to the pageantry of war, and they fought on both sides of the contest in France, with their allegiances tied more to their feudal connections than to any ideology. Interestingly, it would appear that for the troubadours, a ‘crusade’ was not a significant part of their construct of the events occurring in their territory. If as a group they raised public opinion in any direction, it would appear that it would be against ongoing outside interference, French or papal, in their business.

²⁰⁶ Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 158.

²⁰⁷ *La Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, ii, 2, as cited in Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 162; trans. hers.

²⁰⁸ Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 162, where she cites Guilhem Anelier, “Ara farai, nom pueisc tenir,” *Der Troubadour Guilhem Anelier von Toulouse*, ed. Gisi (1877), 26–30; trans. Siberry.

In the decade of the 1260s the difficulties of crusade recruitment and finance are well-illustrated by the Register of the Archbishop Eudes of Rouen (d. 1276) who provides a record of his visitations to administer the diocese and various councils he attended where funds were being sought.²⁰⁹ As a confidant of Louis IX, the archbishop was being asked to seek support for the king's second crusade, as well as various other ventures of the papacy, including political crusades in Italy, and assistance to the ailing Latin Kingdom of Romania after the Byzantines recaptured Constantinople in 1261. All of this was in addition to a new effort to return forces to the Holy Land in order to try to prevent the total collapse of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Even though the needs were made clear in a council held at Paris in August and September of 1262, Eudes spoke for all of the bishops of France in saying no to the requests. Arguing that the Church in France was already overtaxed and that there was no justification for adding to it, he offered four main reasons for the refusal: first, long-time burdens of heavy subsidies for the Holy Land, so much that many of the churches in their dioceses were in heavy debt; second, a bad harvest and inflation; third, no real threat is perceived, nor are any real preparations for a new passage overseas underway; and fourth, truces are in place between Saracens and Christians; therefore, a new subsidy is not really needed.²¹⁰ In this reply we no doubt see the mistrust of a widespread public in France whose opinion was likely shared throughout Europe at the time.

As we enter the last third of the thirteenth century, Tedaldus Visconti, Archdeacon of Liege, was one of the most ardent supporters of crusading. Prior to his election as Pope Gregory X (r. 1271–1276), Tedaldus, inspired by the persistent efforts of Louis IX to regain the Holy Land, had personally taken the cross to join the crusade of the king in 1269, and had even traveled to Palestine in 1270, and was there when he learned of his elevation to the papal throne. Soon after his coronation in March 1272, Gregory met with advisors and developed a plan for the second general council at Lyons to be held in 1274, and, as many cardinals feared, indicated that the primary purpose was the calling of a crusade. In his letter of summons to the council, *Salvator noster*, Gregory noted that three evils were afflicting the Church—the schism, the devastation of the Holy Land, and the ongoing sins of the faithful.²¹¹ As an eye-witness to the suffering in the east, Gregory's call could claim greater empathy to persuade the reluctant to join in the major effort needed to regain God's land. In tying the need to

²⁰⁹ *The Register of Eudes of Rouen* (1964), ed. Jeremiah O'Sullivan.

²¹⁰ *The Register of Eudes of Rouen* (1964), ed. O'Sullivan, Intro., xxxv; 502; also, see *Crusade and Christendom* (2013), ed. Bird, Peters and Powell, 385–89.

²¹¹ Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 17.

the traditional two-edged sword of the sins of Christians, Gregory showed his understanding of the never-ending need for individual warriors to sacrifice for the Lord in order to achieve their own personal salvation.

Aware of the ongoing crusade criticism, and following the lessons learned by Innocent III in paying attention to it, Gregory began to prepare to counter it at Lyons II by soliciting memoirs assessing the current climate of opinion. Not only did the pope ask for information from the opinion leaders in Europe, he also urged Philip III of France to send military experts to the Holy Land to observe and report on the situation there.²¹² It is clear that Lyons was chosen as the site of the council because, like Urban before him, Gregory was counting largely on the French knights to respond positively for support.²¹³ Still, Gregory really desired to receive information from all regions and all classes in society; or, in the words of Palmer Throop, “he hoped to feel the pulse of public opinion through these memoirs.”²¹⁴ What he learned was that the recorded pulse beat rapidly in hostility toward a crusade. But was the pulse taken widely or did it really only represent that of the clergy who compiled the memoirs?

Throop argued early in the twentieth century that not only did the memoirs of the clergy affirm widespread hostility, but other sources, for example, the vernacular literatures of England, France, Italy and Northern Europe, confirm that assertion. He was especially reliant on Provençal literature, which as we have suggested above does not necessarily bear out. However, it is not my purpose here to take sides in this aspect of the study of public opinion so much as to show the evolution and significance of the public sector and the role it played in developing support and opposition to crusading.

Although Throop and Siberry wrote a generation apart, they agreed that there was widespread criticism of crusaders and crusading by the middle of thirteenth century. The nature, if not the extent, of it is laid out in the memoirs solicited by Gregory X. But even before Gregory solicited opinions, there existed indictments of papal policy, especially the wars against fellow Christians. The celebrated German poet Walther von der Vogelweide (ca. 1170–ca. 1230), for example, had accused the popes of fostering civil war in Germany and robbing the German treasury for their political wars which they falsely labeled crusades.²¹⁵ Throop argued that Walther was not alone as a lay critic and that there were critics from all classes in society from across Europe. Here at least the objections of the troubadours to what was occurring in southern France in the early thirteenth

²¹² Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 15.

²¹³ Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 20.

²¹⁴ Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 23.

²¹⁵ Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 26.

century would apply.²¹⁶ The issue of whether the writings of these poets represented public opinion, that is from the bottom up, or whether they were trying to influence it, was in dispute among modern scholars from the late nineteenth century as evidenced in the works of Friedrich Diez and Alfred Jeanroy.²¹⁷ I side with Jeanroy that the troubadours were writing to shape opinion in support of their own political position. What is more important, however, is that we recognize the fact that it was deemed important to take note of public opinion at all, and that the contemporary works of that era can be seen either to represent it or to try to influence it. As is the case today the two are really inseparable. In trying to shape it, the opinion leaders had to be aware of the existing climate of opinion and how it needed to move in order to support their own political objectives.

By the time of Gregory X the ecclesiastical hierarchy had clearly deemed public opinion important, and had developed both a method to sample it and a means to influence it broadly. So Gregory collected the requested memoirs and found a cross-section of complaints and objections to crusading. In the *Collectio de scandalis ecclesiae* compiled by the Franciscan Gilbert of Tournai around 1274 the focus is mostly on the need for reform of both the clergy and the laity as an essential precondition for successful recovery of the Holy Land.²¹⁸ As Minister General of the Order, Gilbert was largely responsible for overseeing the promotion of a crusade, which by 1270 had become a major role for the friars as itinerant preachers who reported directly to the pope. His memoir reflects greatly on the financing and singles out the complaints of the public that too much of the burden has been placed on the “sweat of the poor, from the despoliation of churches.”²¹⁹ Further on another complaint emerged about the

216 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 28.

217 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 29, citing Diez, *Leben und Werke der Troubadours* (1882), not page specific; and, Alfred Jeanroy, *La poésie lyrique des troubadours* (1934), II: 175–76. For a broader discussion of the literature of “independent criticism,” by which he means unsolicited and primarily found in the Old French and Provençal poets, see Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, 26–68.

218 For an English translation of parts dealing with the crusade as part of the reform, see *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters and Powell (2013), 453–55. The best English summary of the treatise is still Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, 69–104. It is important to note that the term “scandal” does not mean an offense against the public moral code, but rather, according to Aquinas and Bonaventura, “the doing of something which becomes either directly or by setting an example an occasion of sin by others” (Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* [1940], 70, n. 4). Again, we see the attention paid to issues of public scrutiny by Gilbert who reveals a sensitivity to the climate of opinion in selecting a title for his memoir.

219 *Crusade and Christendom* (2013), ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell, 454.

[...] redemption of vows through certain men who rate the sums paid for redemption, who with a foolish fist beat down the feeble and disabled, [...] [a] scandal which redounded upon the heads of those preaching the crusade. If they preached the indulgence of the cross anew, it is not certain that they would make progress, but it is certain that they would suffer various insults.²²⁰

This general antagonism toward financing, the abuse of the indulgence, and an antipathy toward papal legates as collectors of monies had long remained a sore spot among both clergy and laity. Though expressed here in cautious language by a key member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, for Throop, the *Collectio* “reflects admirably the state of public opinion [...] particularly the widespread disapproval of the financial abuses carried on in the name of a holy war.”²²¹

The fact that Gilbert was not original in laying out many of the complaints against the Church’s persistent call to crusade is further evidence of the standoff between public opinion and papal action.²²² Gilbert repeated the allegation of the clergy that the failure of crusades was due to the sins of the Christians, an argument made by crusade apologists since Bernard in the mid-twelfth century. In naming the sins, Gilbert cited familiar complaints such as taxation of the poor and of the local churches by the secular rulers, the quarrels among the princes of Europe from the time of Urban II that delayed them from taking the vow or fulfilling it, the tithing of the churches, and the indiscriminant giving or selling of the cross to those not capable of fighting. Overall, hypocrisy among those promoting or signing up for a crusade appears as an underlying driver of the unpopularity of the expeditions, whether to the Holy Land or against fellow Christians. For example, many were being forced to take the cross as penance for various misdeeds.²²³ Then, they redeemed their vows with a money payment that did not necessarily go toward the funding of any crusade. These are the kinds of complaints that led Gilbert to exhibit pessimism that the preaching of a new expedition would likely fall on deaf ears in the court of public opinion.

In writing his memoir to represent the opinion of those living in northern Europe, Bishop Bruno of Olmütz (d. 1281) in Bohemia, in a much briefer form presented the view that if there was to be a crusade it should focus on dealing with the pagans, especially the Cumans and Tartars, who presented a threat to the se-

220 *Crusade and Christendom* (2013), ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell, 455.

221 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 69.

222 For details of what follows in this paragraph, see Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 70–95.

223 Of example, see *Register of Walter Giffard*, ed. Brown (1904), 277–86, as cited by Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 95.

curity of the Church in Hungary, Russia, Lithuania and Prussia. Despite the five expeditions launched in the north during the period from 1240 to 1250, Bruno urged that more was still needed. Gregory X was fully aware of the criticism of those who had crusaded, especially the Teutonic Knights, who were developing a reputation for cruel treatment of those pagans they conquered to the detriment of their true conversion to Christianity. Nonetheless, the issue of secular lords needing to deal with issues of governance at home rather than traveling to the Holy Land was part of the public critique that the pope had to confront.

In another direction, an opinion that was growing more popular in the late thirteenth century was expressed by William of Tripoli (ca. 1220–ca. 1273), a Dominican monk in Acre, who composed a treatise entitled *De Statu Saracenorum* (1270). Perhaps in response to a special request by Gregory X while he was in the Holy Land and before he became the pope, William argued that it was time to stop crusading altogether in favor of preaching to convert the Saracen rather than kill him.²²⁴ William had lived among the Muslims, knew Arabic, and had developed a personal sympathy toward the peoples of the region. In response to the pope's quest for information William provided a brief history of Mohammad and his rise to power which he ended with an optimistic prophecy of the downfall of the Saracens in the Holy Land. William's optimism was not isolated. A number of others, including the more prominent theologian Roger Bacon, also believed the downfall of the Saracen could be brought about through preaching. However, that belief faced strong opposition from Humbert of Romans, and even Aquinas who agreed with Humbert that only force would lead to their conversion.²²⁵ Ultimately, the pope sided with those advocating force.

Because Humbert wrote the most detailed memoir dealing with the climate of opinion facing Gregory X as he called for a new crusade, it is important to examine the nature of what he reported in his *Opusculum tripartitum*.²²⁶ Briefly, it is quite clear that Humbert viewed the public as hostile. His conclusion was based on his experience as a Dominican Master General with access to reports from all over Europe up until 1263, and from his attention to preaching that led him to write his treatise *De predicacione crucis* (On the Preaching of the Cross) even be-

²²⁴ William of Tripoli, *Notitia de Machometo* (1992); O'Meara, "The Theology and Times of William of Tripoli" (2008); Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West" (1971).

²²⁵ Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 122, 134–39, and 145.

²²⁶ Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum tripartitum*, ed. Ortuinus Gratius (1690), 185–229. For a detailed discussion of the treatise see Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 147–83. For an English translation of parts, see *Christendom and Crusade* (2013), ed. Bird, Peters and Powell, 455–65. Also see Brett, *Humbert of Romans* (1984).

fore the *Opus tripartitum*.²²⁷ For Humbert, the Saracen was a particular *bête noir*. He believed that Mohammed had established his religion for the destruction of Christianity, and of all the enemies of the Church the Saracens were the most dangerous.²²⁸ Therefore, with great attention to the logic of his argument, Humbert proceeded to outline the various public and widespread criticisms of the crusade and then to counter those arguments systematically.²²⁹

Humbert of Romans was well aware of the success of previous itinerant preachers in arousing the emotions of the public. He regarded the current lack of such preachers as a disgrace and noted that:

Formerly one poor hermit, that is, Peter of Amiens, roaming throughout Christian lands, stirred up and set almost all Christendom on fire regarding this very project. And yet in our times hardly any great man can be found who would spur on others.”²³⁰

But, what can the Church offer to re-energize the promotion of the next crusade? Humbert recommends that Gregory publicize indulgences and directly appoint preachers just as had been previously mandated in the decree *Ad liberandum* of Innocent III at the time of Lateran IV in 1215. Addressing the objection that previous disasters suggest that the crusade is not God's will, Humbert offers that they should persist because the salvation of Christians is at stake and the Saracens must be suppressed or they might overwhelm all of Christendom. Ultimately, Humbert asserted, this drive and determination would enable a total Christian victory, and he offered Old Testament examples of the trials and triumphs of Israel from the books of Judges and Maccabees to firm up this hope.²³¹

So what was keeping Christians from seeing this and rushing to imitate the previous *militia Christi*? Physical cowardice had been mentioned in chapter 19 of Humbert's treatise on crusade preaching.²³² As confirmed in Provençal literature

227 For a discussion of Humbert's intention to make this treatise available for preachers of the crusade so that they might become more effective, see Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 202–17. This treatise also notes many of the objections to the crusade that preachers might encounter, but its tone is a bit softer than the frankness found in the *Opus tripartitum* which was a document meant only for the pope. Put together, however, they offer more insight into the hostility of the public sphere toward another general expedition or to crusading in general by the early 1270s.

228 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 149.

229 At this point (*Opusculum*, Pt. 1, ch. 9, p. 190), Humbert refers readers to his earlier treatise on crusade preaching where he had spoken of the objections. See Brett, *Humbert of Romans* (1984), 179.

230 *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 459.

231 *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. Bird, Peters, and Powell (2013), 459–60.

232 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 151–52.

of poets such as Peire Cardenal, men feared bodily harm; they especially feared the sea.²³³ Others were critical of the crusade because they were focused on the preservation of the homeland and worldly goods instead of risking their lives on a foreign mission. Humbert also took notice of those who were regarded as opinion leaders and fully capable of bearing the burden of the crusade, but were refusing to take the cross and thus discouraging their peers from doing so. Many others, including women, were undermining the crusade effort because they could not bear to be away from lovers, or family and home, but Humbert had little sympathy for them either.²³⁴ Humbert was not idly speculating here for there was open expression of resistance among the poets, such as Gui de Coucy, who wrote calling God a “villain” for taking him from his lover, and Bertran de Born who was not loathe to exhorting kings to go on crusade while staying at home himself with his lover.²³⁵ Among the obvious excuses that Humbert observed earlier in *De predicacione crucis* there were the complaints by individuals that they did not have enough money to go, or they could not find people to take care of their estates while they were away.

The tone of Humbert’s work suggests disdain for the hypocrisy latent in many of the objections and criticisms, but it must have been especially discouraging to deal with the growing belief that the indulgences were not working. Among those in the English and French public sphere voicing skepticism we find Peire Cardenal (ca. 1180–1278) who alleged that the clergy sold indulgences out of their own avarice. Huon de St. Quentin denied the validity of crusade indulgences purchased, and Matthew Paris noted that the practice of selling indulgences resulted in great doubt among the faithful. Finally, Throop commented that Rutebeuf sort of summed up the widespread incredulity and indifference throughout Europe when he wrote that crusade sermons suggest that heaven was “being sold and delivered by the pope, but that no one held out his hand for the cross.”²³⁶

Altogether in *De predicacione crucis* Humbert described eight major hindrances to raising a new army in 1274. He also described seven sorts of men who might object.²³⁷ Included were pacifists who would argue that it was wrong to kill infidels; instead one should take the time and make the effort to convert them. Others would object to the ongoing wasteful killing of so many Christians;

233 Cardenal, *Tan vei lo segle cobeitos*, ed. M. Raynouard. *Choix des poésies des troubadours* (1820), V, 308. For other examples, see Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 152–54

234 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 156–58.

235 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 157.

236 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 161.

237 For the details of what follows, see Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 162–69.

and some who might point out that the battle conditions in the Holy Land were highly unfavorable to those traveling so far to engage the Saracens. Objectors who argued that Christians should fight, but only if attacked at home first, were considered fools by Humbert. Those who offered the counterargument that Jews and infidels living in Europe, or even barbarians such as the Tartars who lived just outside of Christendom, should be exterminated first were offered the response that those peoples could not really harm Christians like the Saracens.²³⁸ Finally, more and more, it was being argued that it would be better to spend a major effort on preaching missions that could imitate the original spread of Christianity.

The clerical response to Gregory X in anticipation of Lyons II in 1274 spoke clearly, and although Humbert was adamant about the need for another crusade despite the opposition, those who came to the council did not share his passion. Judging from the opening speech of the pope, it appears that he followed Humbert's suggestions in preparing for the council as outlined in the *Opus tripartitum*. In addition to the hundreds of clerics, there were delegates from kings and princes, and representatives from the military orders in attendance, but the only king to attend was James I of Aragon. Hedging his bets, James promised to go if the pope himself would be amongst the crusaders. Perhaps this buoyed Gregory's hopes for success because earlier he promised to participate in person, but after James announced his intention to go, instead of shouts of *Deus vult!* as had occurred at Clermont in 1095, "An embarrassing and tell-tale silence prevailed."²³⁹ Not even when pressed directly by Gregory would the Master of the Temple offer more than a waffling response suggesting how many knights might be needed for a general crusade. Small contingents from time to time after 1274 did bolster temporarily the forces at Acre, but the public sphere of secular politics and the loss of confidence in papal leadership in western Europe came to dominate and preclude a general crusade, even after its fall in 1291 to the sultan Khalil.

238 On the European reaction to the Mongols in the thirteenth century, see Connell, "Western Views of the Origin of the Tartars" (1973). On the potential for a crusade against them, see Jackson, "The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)" (1991). For the broader overview of the interaction of the Mongols and Europe, see, for example, Jackson, "The Mongols and Europe" (1999); Menache, "Tartars, Jews, Saracens, and the Jewish-Mongol 'Plot' of 1241" (1996); Morgan, *The Mongols* (1986). On the influence of the Mongols on Christian thought regarding infidels, see Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels* (1979); and Schmieder, "*Cum hora undecima*" (2000); and Dickson, "The Flagellants of 1260 and the Crusades" (1989). On the missions to the Mongols, see Guzman, *Simon of Saint-Quentin* (2009); Jackson and Morgan, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck* (1990); and Dawson, *Mission to Asia* (1980).

239 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 229–30.

In concluding this chapter, we come to the question of how did the crusades impact the evolution of the medieval public sphere and the public culture. When Acre fell to the Muslims in 1291, it marked the end of any Christian control of the Holy Land. Many military expeditions of various sizes had failed in the effort to imitate the success of the First Crusade that captured Jerusalem in 1099. Throop noted in 1940 that “Force had failed most ingloriously and even when the expediency of force was recognized, the emphasis was placed increasingly on conversion of the infidel.”²⁴⁰ Throughout those two hundred years the ideal of the crusade as a salvatory, legitimate form of war continued at the heart of the outreach to an ever-expanding public. Examination of the efforts of the papacy to promote and defend the expeditions reveals how important the public sphere became as a platform for debate about the necessity for and value of the holy war. The crusades could not have happened without an effective communication system to overcome the human inertia and engage the enthusiasm and idealism needed to launch a campaign of such magnitude. In developing support the Church created a means to control the public sphere through its control of the pulpit. It was able to use various tools of human psychology—fear, hope, pride, anxiety, and fame, for example—to recruit and maintain interest over a long period of time. In fact, it appears that the ideal inherent in the stated objectives of the crusades to the Holy Land may still exist in many Christian minds. But, by the late thirteenth century, the papacy had abused its position so often that it lost control of public opinion to the extent that it could not raise the army needed to depart for Jerusalem, even after the trauma of the Fall of Acre in 1291.

The evidence reviewed above can only infer the depth of the discontent with crusading, but the degree to which the Church tried to overcome what it perceived to be true suggests that one cannot deny that the lack of confidence in the Church was widespread. Humbert’s treatise on preaching would be a tool for all Dominicans who might preach the crusade throughout Europe. Model sermons were developed by others to enable the Franciscans to preach perhaps more effectively as well.²⁴¹ Every bishop and archbishop, as well as the priests in each parish, were commanded to preach the message of crusade encyclicals. No practicing Christian could likely escape a sermon on the topic. In every way possible there is no denying that the Church understood the value of and the need to influence public opinion. Yet, despite the enhanced organization and structure developed for propaganda and outreach, the message fell on increasingly deaf ears. The public culture was now filled more with the politics and hy-

²⁴⁰ Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 139.

²⁴¹ Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology* (2000).

pocrisy of crusading and the majority decided to reject the call of the pope to restore Jerusalem into Christian hands.

There are many reasons for the failure of the crusades, but it was not due to any lack of effort on the part of the papacy to understand and reach out to the public in order to persuade Christians everywhere to take up the cause of the holy war. Using the methods of the early propagation of the faith to win converts, the popes relied upon and used more efficiently preachers and sermons to grab the attention of the faithful. Even after the failure of the expeditions launched under the auspices of Innocent III, papal efforts to launch crusades were sustained. Both Innocent IV (r. 1243–1254) and Clement IV (r. 1265–1268) were persistent in ordering the mendicants to preach crusades in support of Louis IX (1253), and later, against the sultan Baibars.²⁴² In 1262 Urban IV (r. 1261–1264) also granted a plenary indulgence to friars who would preach the crusade to the Holy Land, a privilege that was also extended to any preacher or other official who would promote the crusade provided they would serve in that capacity for at least a year.²⁴³ But the friars had to preach within complex public environments. In England, for example, in 1247 the bishops of Lincoln and Worcester were put in charge of crusade preaching instead of the friars, but the friars were still supposed to preach and collect revenues from the redemption of crusade vows. Then the revenues were turned over to the bishops for disposal, which left the friars vulnerable to critics of crusading, and may account for the hostility toward them by Matthew Paris.²⁴⁴ It must have been frustrating to the friars as well when Innocent IV required them to promote his expedition against the Emperor Frederick II. Regardless, they did preach the crusade in England in 1249, and again in 1250 when Henry III took the cross. The competition with secular clergy took a turn against the friars, however, and the sting of criticism reached the Dominican Master General Humbert of Romans. With public opinion against them, he issued a letter to all the friars urging them to be moderate and conciliatory in their reaction to the papal bull *Etsi animarum* issued in 1254 by Innocent IV which had placed restrictions on their preaching at the request of the seculars.²⁴⁵ Despite all of this, the friars continued their mission in England. In 1267, when the papal crusading bull of Clement IV was issued, according to various sources the preaching of the friars led the princes “Edward and Edmund and a large number of people” to take the cross.²⁴⁶ Even at the

²⁴² Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy* (1975), 58–60, and ch. 2, *passim*.

²⁴³ Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy* (1975), 61.

²⁴⁴ Paris, *Chronica Majora*, MGH. SS. XXVIII (1964), 363.

²⁴⁵ Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers* (1951), 429.

²⁴⁶ Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers* (1951), 430 and 432.

time of Lyon II (1274), the Dominican John of Darlington was appointed apostolic collector of the crusade tithe in England.²⁴⁷

The failure of the crusades was not due to the lack of preaching or its ineffectiveness per se. The Church had not remained complacent with a particular formula, but the conflict between seculars and regulars, as well as the diversity of crusade directions away from the Holy Land did play a role in undermining crusade enthusiasm within the public sphere. As it analyzed the feedback of the public response, the approach to preaching the cross was altered. At first, the charismatic individual preachers had achieved success in acquiring takers of the cross. This approach relied on the bishops and priests for the broadest possible circulation of the message, but often the most charismatic were the monks like pope Urban II or Bernard of Clairvaux who could offer the model of their lifestyle of sacrifice to inspire. Finding that the message could not be so readily controlled and that often the wandering preachers would stray from the crusade to issues of reform and moral turpitude amidst the regular clergy, various popes tried to regulate the activities of the preachers in the public sphere. The plan was for popes to issue encyclicals or bulls to guide those announcing a crusade by indicating main points to be stressed or by reading the letters themselves before trying to inspire the zeal required to take the oath. Cole's study of those efforts concluded that they met with mixed success. Some such as Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn stayed on message, while others preached poorly, were often ignorant of the conditions of the indulgence, and abused the redemption of crusade vows. Whether with desired results or not, however, there is evidence of impact. Cole calls our attention to "the emotional reaction of the audience, the visions which resulted, and the miracles of healing which occurred," citing such occurrences in conjunction with the preaching of Bernard of Clairvaux, Baldwin of Canterbury, and Oliver of Paderborn.²⁴⁸ This analysis recalls the ongoing difficulties of effective communication in the public sphere. You might select the message you want to deliver and even a carefully vetted messenger, but the effectiveness of the message depends a lot on the audience that receives it. Setting the stage, the time and place, pre-delivery preparation, awareness of the local conditions and issues, and in the case of the wandering preachers, the state of mind of the local clergy with respect to your visit all had to be taken into account. Even Bernard of Clairvaux had his moments of harsh failure when the local audience was just not ready to listen.

²⁴⁷ Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers* (1951), 432.

²⁴⁸ Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades* (1991), 219.

Sensing the dangers of serendipity, in the thirteenth century the Church tried to improve further by encouraging the development of preaching manuals and model sermons. We have recovered many of those, but we still have to speculate how they were actually used and with what impact. Regardless of what model was used, any preacher would have to have the rhetorical skills necessary to evoke emotions in a public setting. As we have learned above, the most successful could move audiences through fear and outrage, or by connecting the listeners to their own desire to achieve salvation. In the medieval world it appears that the public sphere was particularly personal. The most successful crusade preachers were those who could stir up feelings and connect them to the need for individual sacrifice for a larger spiritual cause that was tied to their own perceived salvation. Unlike today's world, the medieval could call upon the saints and their miracles to help attract and arouse the crowds before they kneeled to take the cross.

The emotion of failure is also worth noting, for again it was personal. Today, the blame for political failure often becomes amorphous, with the government, the corporation, or "they" being cited as responsible. In the crusade era of the twelfth century, fingers were pointed at those known individuals most obvious in the promotion of or propaganda for a failed crusade. With the further centralization of the preaching effort by the papacy in thirteenth century and the delegation of major responsibility to better-educated and trained friars using model sermons and preaching manuals, the mendicant orders, like corporations today, became the target of the hostility for failing crusade efforts. There is one final parallel to note between the medieval public sphere and the modern. With the success of persuasion so often tied to emotion, it is difficult to control the public and its opinion and its actions based on that opinion. In this review of aspects of the crusade movement we have observed that difficulty over and over again. Moreover, it was perceived by many of the contemporaries, whether they be popes or their advisors, that when persuasion failed in the contest against non-believers or infidels or even those rejecting papal political authority, they should resort to violence.

Chapter 6

Broadening the Public Culture in the Later Middle Ages

Up to this point we have focused on major events that one might label “political media events” in order to discern the evolution of the medieval public and public culture. However, a number of other developments provide evidence of a broadening of that culture beyond the control of the elite. The wholesale adoption of the vernacular in England by the early fourteenth century is one example of the enhanced acculturation of the *populus*, but there were many other ways in which the role of the middle ranks in society was being expanded. Some were more subtle than obvious, but in this chapter the focus will be on the diverse uses of public space for raising public issues, including literature, public squares, the theatre, and market places. Many facets of public life have become a more significant area for analysis in recent years and it is not possible to do justice to each in this study. But, by calling attention to some key aspects of those studies we can better reflect on how, by the middle of the fourteenth century where this study ends, it is clear that the “people” have emerged from the shadows and are poised to play even more particular and dynamic roles in the everyday public culture.

Public Opinion and Literature

Literature took many forms and was expanding its audience in the heart of the era covered herein. Chronicles, treatises, and hagiography or miracle stories were often the genres adopted for narrative prose accounts of history, “biography,” or propaganda. For the poets, there were many options, including *fabliaux*, romance, epics, courtly chansons, and satire. In the twelfth century it was the Provençal poets who were the first to write vernacular political polemics (*sirventes*) in which the primary goal was to persuade partisans of a political idea to attack the opposition.¹ Bertran de Born (ca. 1140–ca. 1214), for example, used *sirventes*

¹ For a fascinating study of lordship, oaths of fidelity, ritual, dispute resolution and service that provided the context in which the troubadours functioned, see Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (2001). For the broader context, see Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness* (1985); Jaeger, *Scholars and Courtiers* ((2002); and Jaeger, “Courtliness and Social

to stir up trouble between Henry II and Henri au Court Mantel, as well as to try to arouse Richard I against Alphonse II. William Longchamps (d. 1197), Bishop of Ely, and English Lord Chancellor imported French poets to enhance his reputation and attack his opponents; and, the poet Marcabru (fl. 1130–1150) was apparently killed because of his polemical works.² Although fear of the poets' powers of persuasion was real enough to engender violence against them, they did not stop engaging in propaganda campaigns to earn a living.

One of the most prolific examples of thirteenth-century poets is Rutebeuf (fl. 1248–1277), who spent most of his life trying to appeal to the urban audience in Paris. His work illustrates several aspects of the sense of the public in the context of the medieval urban public culture.³ Nancy Regalado was attracted to study Rutebeuf because he was “deeply rooted in a milieu” and his work reveals a “web of relations linking the poet to his public.”⁴ What is perhaps most important here is that his public was not that of the self-contained court of the troubadours, but rather that of the newly thriving urban world. Rutebeuf understood that populace, but he did not “represent” them. Instead, in Regalado's view, his role was that of a “lobbyist” for an elite faction attempting “to manipulate public opinion for their own ends,” but he also wrote to influence a “general mass of uninformed and indifferent people to take sides and exert their force of public opinion and moral pressure.”⁵

While in the twelfth century poets were most likely found in the princely courts, in the thirteenth they lived in cities. Despite this shift, the public still expected its literature to have an “uplifting intent.” This was not reserved to the spoken word of the sermon. While courtly works focused on sentiments not finding favor in the Church, non-courtly ones “often hid political propaganda behind

Change” (1995). On the *sirventes* especially, see Aurell, “Chanson et propagande politique” (1994).

² Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf* (1970), 83.

³ Though the appreciation of Rutebeuf has grown over the past several decades, the work of Regalado remains fundamental as a starting place for analysis of his significance. For an edition of his works, see *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Faral and Bastin (1959–60), I, 409–509. Also, see Bastin and Faral's edition of *Onze poèmes de Rutebeuf concernant le croisade* (1946).

⁴ Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf* (1970), 3. For the assumption that every medieval “literary” text was meant to be communicated aloud to an audience, see Zumthor, “The Text and the Voice” (1984).

⁵ Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf* (1970), 78. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades* (1988), 225, also accepts the view that Rutebeuf wrote to influence others rather than as a representative of public opinion coming from below; and Ham, “Rutebeuf—Pauper and Polemicist” (1957).

moralization.”⁶ Rutebeuf recognized this and offered a wide range of topics for his audience to consider. In order to earn his living he had to appeal to a non-aristocratic audience. His Parisian public was likely composed of merchants, local tradesmen, churchmen, students, teachers and royal administrators whose tastes bore little patience for the courtly *chanson*. In order to please his wide range of patrons, he composed moral polemics about the quarrels in the University of Paris; uplifting poems of miracles and saints; eulogies and panegyric pieces; and, heart-rending poems of misfortune. The poems of Rutebeuf reflect the habitat and the inhabitants of the city. Therein, in everyday vernacular language instead of the courtly rhetoric, one finds descriptions of buildings of the friars and the life of the friars themselves, but you also find the poor of the streets. As Regalado sums it up: “Paris is the poet’s measure of wealth and poverty.”⁷

The model of influence adopted by Rutebeuf is illustrated in two of the political campaigns in which he was hired to “lobby.” In the first example, he wrote nine poems in the 1250s to bring public pressure against the friars who had become entangled in a struggle against the Paris Masters.⁸ Jealous over the popularity of the mendicants who had infiltrated university power circles, the poems attacked the friars’ right to beg and inferred the heresy of a few of them on the orders as a whole. It is likely that the audience for Rutebeuf’s work was larger than the Masters and the mendicants for it was spread in both written and oral forms. In defense of the friars, Pope Alexander IV wrote to the Bishop of Paris in 1259 condemning those “wretched little pamphlets (*libelli*), famous for their infamy, and slandering these same friars, published anew [...] in both literary and vernacular language,” which confirmed the anxiety that they caused. The pope also prescribed a strong penalty—the pamphlets were to be “openly and publicly burned.”⁹

Using the public sphere as his site for propaganda Rutebeuf applied the weapon of satire to convince his public that his view was the correct one. Like most medieval satirists he “did not really distinguish between politics and morality.”¹⁰ Although there is debate as to the size and nature of his audience, the streets and taverns were the places where “ready consumers for polemical works ‘hot from the oven’ and spoken aloud” were found. In other words, the

6 Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf* (1970), 6.

7 Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf* (1970), 12.

8 Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf* (1970), 96–97.

9 Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf* (1970), 108.

10 Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf* (1970), 96, and quote at 116.

poems of Rutebeuf were treated as “news.”¹¹ His tone was emotional as he presented familiar moral topoi to reach his audience and inform them about new social and moral questions.¹²

In the long run perhaps the most effective way to measure the expansion of the public sphere attentive to the mendicant quarrel in Paris is to cite the references to the agitation surrounding the issue, and the attempts to suppress the anti-mendicant propaganda found among the poets. In 1256 the debate reached a high point. Matthew Paris noted that the Dominicans were publicly slandered by the Masters as they traveled to Rome. In his words: “The people ridiculed them and withheld their accustomed alms, call them [...] false preachers, flatterers, and evil advisors of kings and people.”¹³ Humbert of Romans similarly wrote that the Masters “represented the men of religion [friars] as so contemptible that they are not believed anywhere because they [Masters] now possess Paris completely.”¹⁴ By June of 1256 Alexander IV banned all vernacular poems against the mendicants. As late as 1262, when Rutebeuf composed his *Complainte de Constantinople*, he mentioned his own fear of speaking the truth. However, other than the bans, there is no indication that there were any other reprisals against these non-clerical vernacular poets.¹⁵ As late as the 1260s one cannot ignore the power of the mendicants to suppress criticism of them that was at least partly based on their role as inquisitors, as much as their accumulation of wealth and the power struggle with the Masters of the University of Paris. Most likely the reason for the lack of further action against vernacular poets was that they were effective in reaching a broader public and could be hired for other propaganda campaigns such as the crusade. Although Rutebeuf provides a good example, we need to see him within a broader context.

Some of the earliest attempts by modern scholars to measure medieval public opinion focused on the crusades and used literary sources as evidence. These sources varied from chronicles and annals to treatises submitted to Pope Gregory X in response to his request for an assessment of the potential for another crusade leading up to the Second Council of Lyon in 1274. However, it was the Old French, Provençal and Middle High German literature that seemed to offer the greatest potential as a direct measure of public interest in the crusades. Among the lyric poems of the twelfth century, for example, about three dozen

11 Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf* (1970), 106–9, quote at 109.

12 Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf* (1970), 128.

13 Paris, *English History* 3, 206 (1256), cited by Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf* (1970), 167.

14 Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf* (1970), 167.

15 Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf* (1970), 171 and 173.

were attentive to the crusades. According to one review of that literature over half of these exhort listeners to crusade by creating an image that is increasingly secular or military or “nationalistic” in nature; that is, the poet calls for a venture that is as significant for France as much as the Church.¹⁶ However, the classification of crusade songs remains somewhat controversial as illustrated by a more recent analysis by Jaye Puckett who finds only eight “true crusade,” along with another eight “non-crusade” songs, among the troubadours who reference the Third Crusade between 1189 and 1192.¹⁷ Continuing his classification throughout the thirteenth century Puckett finds a total of twenty-three “crusade” and four “non-crusade” songs that have at least some reference to expeditions to the Holy Land between 1202 and 1270. Among the northern *trouvères* he also classifies a total of six twelfth-century crusade songs and sixteen from the thirteenth century.¹⁸ All of these refer only to expeditions that venture to the Holy Land. Similarly, D. A. Trotter’s study of French literature and the crusades used this same narrow definition of “crusade” because those seemed to attract most attention by the public. However, he concluded overall that the crusades did not make as much of an impact on French literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as had been assumed prior to his work published in 1988.¹⁹ If one were to examine expeditions beyond those to the Holy land, and also to expand the base of literary works to include those outside the literature in *langue d’oil*, then a more complete view of the public sphere for crusade literature would be possible.²⁰ Regardless, Trotter offered valuable suggestions regarding the influence of the *chansons de geste* of the twelfth century as epic poems written to provide a “fictional pre-history of expeditions to the Holy Land, against which the latter can be presented, notably in the epics of the *Premier Cycle de la Croisade*.”²¹

In the evolution of the medieval public sphere Trotter reminded us that the *chansons* expressed a concern for “reputation, for public approval of one’s actions,” a concern necessary to arouse if one were to succeed in promoting a crusade among the knights.²² This idea has been challenged, but I find it has merit since the *chanson* poets likely had a good measure of their audience and could

16 Dijkstra, *La chanson de croisade* (1995).

17 Puckett, “Reconnaissez novele estoire” (2001), 885–86.

18 Puckett, “Reconnaissez novele estoire” (2001), 886–8.

19 Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades* (1988), 249.

20 See, for example, the review of Trotter by Kibler in *Speculum* 64 (1989): 1044–45.

21 Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades* (1988), 72.

22 Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades* (1988), 72.

sense the potential resistance to warfare in the name of religion.²³ Though earlier scholars had tended to reject the idea of the *chanson* poets as effective propagandists, Richard Kaeuper most recently has concluded that the knights did read the Romance literature and were influenced by it to the extent that it became a locus of debate (i.e., part of a public sphere) about real social issues.²⁴ This view seems to accept arguments like Trotter's that the epic literature influenced the development of those Romances, which in turn fired the crusading zeal within a single chivalric family as reinforced by the propaganda for crusading in such texts as Jean Renart's *L'Escoufle* or the Arthurian-based *Sone de Nan-say*.²⁵

Palmer Throop's work was the earliest and most extensive attempt to exploit these materials, although his thesis that the decline of the crusade in the thirteenth century was due to public antagonism has not gone unchallenged.²⁶ The evidence of these lyrical poets is clear enough. We have surviving moral or political poems known as the *sirventes*, but what is not so evident is the nature of their impact. Throop argued that those from Provence in particular were composed for a large audience that would likely have heard them sung (wider public) rather than have read them (courtly audience). He believed them to be written in the interest of some lord or even a faction, and that they were composed in order "to control public opinion."²⁷ As early as the late twelfth century Giraut de Bornelh (1138–1215) composed a *sirventes* criticizing the pope and the secular lords, but especially the pope, for neglecting the Holy Land in the face of the capture of Jerusalem in 1187. This critique was typical in the Provençal lyrics into the thirteenth century which leads historians to wonder as to the bias of those from southern France in light of the papal attack on the heretics in that region. But poets in northern France and Germany were also a source of criticism of the Albigensian crusade, as well as the crusade against the Hohenstaufen. *Trouvères* such as Huon d'Oisi (d. 1190) focused criticism on Philip II, but per-

23 But, see Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens* (1984), 267, who rejected the idea of the *chansons* as subtle propaganda for crusading. Similarly, see Knudson, "The Problem of the Chanson de Roland" (1950); and Kennedy, "Social and Political Ideas" (1957).

24 Kaeuper, "The Societal Role of Chivalry in Romance" (2000). Also, see Turner, "The *Miles Literatus*" (1978).

25 Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades* (1988), ch. 5, esp. 132–34 and 159–63. Cf. Faral, "A Propos de la Chanson de Roland" (1959).

26 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940). In her later critique, Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 2–3, asserted that these writers were parts of small circles and did not represent public opinion.

27 Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (1940), 28–29.

haps the most influential among those poets, Conon de Béthune (ca. 1160–1217), a relative of the crusade leader Baldwin of Flanders and a crusader himself, wrote at least one poem warning potential crusaders more broadly of God's revenge against barons if they delayed fulfilling their crusader vows.

Did these poets represent public opinion from the bottom up or were their songs intended to influence it? Throop noted that the same issues had been raised in the nineteenth century by Friedrich Diez who concluded in favor of the former, and Alfred Jeanroy who in the early twentieth century came down in favor of the latter view.²⁸ By the late twentieth century Siberry concluded that the variety and range of poetic criticism was a reflection of public opinion and that it became so extensive that it put real pressure on the actions of both kings Richard and Philip. In fact, she stated that the Third Crusade "might be described as a victory for public opinion."²⁹ She further argued that a similar pressure was placed on the Emperor Frederick II as he delayed fulfilling his crusade vow in the thirteenth century. Various *minnesingers* praised him for taking the vow, but most later criticized him for not embarking for the Holy Land. Troubadours of the south joined in the northern chorus, with Walther von der Vogelweide (ca. 1170–ca. 1230) as the only *minnesinger* to blame the quarreling German princes for causing Frederick to delay. Many troubadours were crusade apologists who declared that it was the duty of the faithful to repay God for his sacrifice for them while achieving an eternal reward. This was also true of northern French *trouvères* and German *minnesingers*, whose themes found their counterparts in the sermons of crusade preachers.³⁰ In their condemnation of recalcitrant crusaders, these poets likely represented widespread criticism of crusading, especially after one of the many defeats of the major crusading armies.³¹ Thus, even Siberry came to acknowledge that in a limited way the vernacular poets could be used as an indication of public opinion, and that they in effect expanded the 'public' by adopting images of the crusades being advocated by the clergy.³²

28 Diez, *Leben und Werke der Troubadours* (1882); Jeanroy, *La poésie lyrique des troubadours* (1934), II: 174–76. More recently, Dijkstra, *La chanson de croisade* (1995), views the *sirventes* as efforts to persuade an audience to pursue a certain course of action.

29 Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 61.

30 Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading*, (1985), 5.

31 Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 5. For details on these various themes, see Maurice Coleville, *Les Chansons allemandes de croisade* (1936); Wolfram, "Kreuzpredigt und Kreuzlied" (1886); Jeanroy, *La poésie lyrique* (1934), II: 206–7; and Morris, "Propaganda for War" (1983).

32 Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (1985), 5.

Although most poets, north or south, remained favorable toward crusading it is important to note that their rhetoric changed tone and outlook. This was especially true among the troubadours who became more pessimistic, which it has been suggested was due to a significant change in public opinion toward the crusades. Although Jaye Puckett has argued somewhat differently, namely that the disasters of the Fourth and Albigensian crusades were responsible for the darker tone of the troubadour and *trouvère* songs, he does not really undermine the possible significance of the influence of anti-crusade sentiments within the broader public sphere.³³ The poets were enlisted to persuade the public more by fear than by service to God leading to the rewards of heaven. Following the failure of the Second Crusade the rhetoric placed blame on the sins of Christians, and each generation thereafter had to face this possibility. The use of the crusade against fellow Christians likely further reinforced the need to find new ways to craft a rationale for a pro-crusade poem, but it did not change the ongoing need to advocate, as Rutebeuf urged in his poem *Recommenciez novele estoire* ("Begin a new story").³⁴

The work of recent scholars such as Joseph Dane has demonstrated that the poets of the medieval public sphere began to address political issues in various literary forms, including parody and satire.³⁵ Using a collection of twenty-four poems from thirteenth-century Arras, Dane argued that there was a subversive element in this literature patronized by the patriciate of Arras, especially in the form of parodies. The issue at stake there was the feared rise of the bourgeoisie. The parodies found in the *Chansons et dits artesiens du XIIIe siècle* were in Dane's view an elite attack on a literature favored by the bourgeoisie that was based on an aristocratic literature of an earlier period. By attacking the literature, the authors in effect were attacking the bourgeoisie:

[...] if the bourgeoisie of Arras could not claim aristocratic status through their appreciation of aristocratic poetry, they might well be resigned to their rank [...] in the Three Estates model (popular in medieval satire), [where] the merchant, no matter how rich, is classified in the lowest of the estates.³⁶

The parody is found in other late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century literature—notably the short nonsensical poems of the *fatrasie* and *fatras*. Patronized by the elite, these were used as vehicles to attack the bourgeoisie in their aspi-

33 Puckett, "*Recommenciez novele estoire*" (2001).

34 Puckett, "*Recommenciez novele estoire*" (2001), 883.

35 Dane, "Parody and Satire" (1984).

36 Dane, "Parody and Satire" (1984), 126.

rations to “aristocratic status through a display of aristocratic literary tastes, and were thus “highly subversive.”³⁷ Therein we see another way in which increased levels of literacy led to a more sophisticated struggle for control of legitimacy in the public sphere. The case of the parodies of Arras places them alongside the satire of Jean de Meun’s *Roman de la Rose* and the propaganda of Rutebeuf in this regard as the public sphere was broadened to include the urban bourgeoisie more fully.

As another source for understanding the development of the medieval public sphere, the romance literature has much to offer beyond its reflection and influence upon the crusades. Over 450 romance texts have survived in French (200), Italian (100), English (100), Spanish and German (ca. 50 each). These works constructed the social chivalric code of the elite, but by the thirteenth century they also exhibited a new realism. In these tales the heroes ventured into towns to encounter more modest noble courts and even bourgeois sites wherein the values of feudal courts met those of the emerging urban commercial and political society and the chivalric were increasingly found wanting in the court of public opinion.³⁸ The tale of *Gawain and the Green Knight*, for example, was modified to depict “an active Young Man” who would reflect the values and appeal to the bourgeois gentry households of medieval England.³⁹ The later Spanish romance was critical of chivalric ideals, while the Italians attempted to show how chivalry might be reconciled by different social classes to achieve greater social stability.⁴⁰

‘The Church’ remained under attack as well in late medieval literature of various forms. Using German literature as the source we note that the clergy in general remained the focus of much of the negativity. The work of Birgit Beine on Middle High German *mären* cites greed, corruption, arrogance, lack of chastity, and homosexuality as the objects of the major public critiques, even though some of the verses do contain positive images of the clerics.⁴¹ Using the lens of Walther von der Vogelweide to sharpen the view, Albrecht Classen has shown how Walther lamented the downfall of German society with particular blame placed on the shoulders of the clergy whom he attacked for their lies, de-

³⁷ Dane, “Parody and Satire” (1984), 135.

³⁸ *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. Krueger (2000), Introduction.

³⁹ Hahn, “Gawain and Popular Chivalric Romance” (2000). Also, see Riddy, “Middle English Romance” (2000).

⁴⁰ Psaki, “Chivalry and Medieval Italian Romance” (2000); and Brownlee, “Romance at the Crossroads” (2000).

⁴¹ Beine, *Der Wolf in der Kutte* (1999). See an overview of this anticlerical rhetoric in Classen, “Anticlericalism and Criticism in Medieval and Early Modern German Literature” (2014).

ceit, and hypocrisy. In various broadsides known as the “*Reichstöne*” Walther accused the papacy of misleading his flock and the clerics of abandoning traditional ideals in order to create and hide behind a façade. The evolution of the public sphere had created new opportunities for poets such as Walther who could claim to “be a new voice of the people.”⁴²

Perhaps there is no better place to raise the question about the degree to which literature reflects the “reality” of society than when one considers one other medieval genre—the *fabliaux*.⁴³ Although there is no doubt about the popularity of these satirical tales, their provenance remains a source of debate. Regardless of whether they were bourgeois or more courtly in their origin, or rising from the folk legends of the “masses” and recorded by one of the other of the classes, the tales provide an interesting insight into the expansion and volatility of the public sphere. For example, in late medieval romance even the king became a subject for satire as in the case of the *Roman de Renard*.⁴⁴ Yet, in the *fabliaux* the king did not make an appearance. The transformation of the king’s image was not made quickly from the heroic king of Beowulf’s era to the idealized king of the *Chanson de Roland* who was a soldier just and wise, but above all, a faithful Christian loyal to the Church. Regardless of the genre in each era the image of the king remained consistent, except in the *fabliaux* where the king remained cynically absent.⁴⁵ Although we find the king present and his role defined in much of the literature, when we look for the ‘people’ it is much more difficult. It would appear often that the *populus* are the artisans or peasants or all of them combined except for the clergy. In the *fabliaux* of the French and German poets the peasants are often meant. Graus concluded in his review of medieval literature that the “king is a well-defined figure, [but] the notion of the

42 Classen, “Anticlericalism and Criticism” (1999), 288–90. For a broader appreciation of Walther, see Classen, *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung* (2002), 167–220, with reference to many articles on various aspects of his influence; and the overview in Mück, *Walther von der Vogelweide: Beiträge zu Leben und Werk* (1989). Also, see an English translation of many of his poems in *Walther von der Vogelweide: the Single Stanza Lyrics*, ed. and trans. Goldin (2003). For more on his political works, see Marzo-Wilhelm, *Walther von der Vogelweide* (1998); and Nix, *Untersuchungen zur Funktion der politischen Spruchdichtung* (1993).

43 Standard overview studies include Muscatine, *The Old French Fabliaux* (1986); Bedier, *Les fabliaux* (1925); Nykrog, *Les Fabliaux* (1957); Graus, “Littérature et mentalité médiévale” (1969). Also, see more recent approaches by Levy, *The Comic Text* (2000); and, *The Old French Fabliaux*, ed. Burr, Moran, and Lacy (2007).

44 Bossuat, *Le Roman de Renard* (1957); Flinn, *Le Roman de Renart* (1963); Graus, “Littérature et mentalité médiévale” (1969).

45 Graus, “Littérature et mentalité médiévale” (1969), 60.

‘people’ remains uncertain and vague.”⁴⁶ By mid-fourteenth century medieval literature was on the brink of a significant change with respect to the attention paid to issues of the public sphere. The English poets Chaucer, Langland, and Gower took the lead and their work was in contrast with the French criticism of the government.⁴⁷ The work of Eustache Deschamps (1340–1406), for example, was critical of French taxation, but it was a “relatively mild and often *ad hominem* French complaint” when compared with the “entire corpus of English complaint (including the outlaw ballads), so strikingly different in its nature, its frequent bitterness and the apparent scope of its [English] audience” in the late fourteenth century. This is the view of Richard Kaeuper, who argues that it was due perhaps to the greater impact of the English government which “touched more people in more aspects of their lives than was yet true in France.”⁴⁸ Kaeuper follows the tradition which characterizes medieval literature as more of a collective phenomenon that involved the community as a whole.⁴⁹

Yet, scholars are still often reluctant to see literature as a reflection of the opinion of that community, though they are perhaps grudgingly willing to accept the likelihood that the writers wrote to influence it.⁵⁰ Which raises the question as to the degree of importance we might assign to the presence of a community, its nature, its size, and its relationship to the government in the development and use of public opinion in the Middle Ages. Thus, it is important in the process of tracing the evolution of the public sphere in literature to observe how consistent this uncertainty has remained. By the end of the thirteenth century the ‘people’ have not emerged as a political power per se, but the anxiety of that potential is clearly present.

46 Graus, “Littérature et mentalité médiévale,” 77.

47 By the end the focus of this study in mid-fourteenth century, we are on the brink of the “triumph of English,” as signaled, perhaps erroneously, by the issuance of the Statute of Pleading by Edward III in 1362. Some see it as the beginning of the early modern England as opposed to the medieval. For a balanced study, see Ormrod, “The Use of English” (2003), who concludes that neither Edward III nor his successor “realized the sense of dramatic immediacy, political potency and striking cultural symbolism that could be derived from the organized deployment of English as a spoken language of mass communication” (787). Thus, you might say they lost the opportunity to greatly expand the voice of the people.

48 Kaeuper, *War, Justice, and Public Order* (1988), 346. See also Coleman, *Medieval Readers and Writers* (1981); and, Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (1966), esp. ch.5, in which he argues the influence of the moral tone of the pulpit on the “satire of complaint” literature.

49 See Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law* (1977), 1. Regarding a general approach to the ways in which literature reflects the culture, see Nostrand, “Literature in the Describing of a Literate Culture” (1970).

50 For example, Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades* (1988), 248–49.

Physical Public Space as Medieval Public Sphere

For the past quarter century the study of the public has been offered new stimulation by the English translation of the work of Jürgen Habermas, who offered scholars an understanding of public dialogue and rational opinion formation which he labeled *Öffentlichkeit*, a term that has been translated in English, incorrectly some have argued, as the “public sphere.”⁵¹ Although he placed its origins in the Enlightenment, many scholars since then have tried to push it back in historical time. Habermas began by asking whether rational arguments among companies of men could reach a consensus to form a persuasive basis for political action. His “company of men” was elitist in nature and on this basis the argument was immediately challenged widely. Habermas clearly struck a nerve, and the energy generated by the shock has not gone away, as witness several redefinitions of the public sphere by scholars from many perspectives.⁵² A number of medievalists for that matter see its first arising in the debates of the Investiture Contest, the market places of England, and the theatres of Arras, as we discuss further below in this chapter.

One of the most thoughtful reviews of the impact of Habermas was put forth by Harold Mah in 2000 who argues that historians have “spatialized” the public sphere by “conceiving of it as a space or domain of free expression and argument that is accessible to any social group,” which has led to a wrongful interpretation of Habermas and neglected much that could be more usefully applied.⁵³ Mah questions the translation of *Öffentlichkeit* as a “space” that one can enter and leave. He argues that social and cultural historians have selected this connota-

51 Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1989). For discussion of the translation, see Mah, “Phantasies of the Public Sphere” (2000), 156, n 4, and 160. Hohendahl, “Recasting the Public Sphere” (1995), 31, opts for an even more abstract meaning of the term, namely, simply “public” without reference to specific social structures. Also, see most recently on various translations of *Öffentlichkeit*, Morsel, “Communication et domination sociale en Francie à la fin du Moyen Âge” (2011).

52 See the early samples collected and edited by Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (1992). Also, Robbins, ed., *The Phantom Public Sphere* (1993). The discussion is ongoing. See, for example, Koller, “The Public Sphere and Comparative Historical Research” (2010), who provides a useful bibliography that includes some of the classical studies of public opinion as well; and Peters, “Historical Tensions in the Concept of Public Opinion” (1995).

53 Mah, “Phantasies of the Public Sphere” (2000), 154. For samples of what he means, see the works of Calhoun and Robbins cited above, n. 52; and the historiographical examples cited in Mah, 153–54, especially Brooke, “Reason and Passion in the Public Sphere” (1998); and, some questioning of whether the debate over the nature and value of the concept of the public sphere has exceeded its usefulness, in Brooke, “On the Edges of the Public Sphere” (2005).

tion because they study dissenting groups. Like Edward Thompson in his classic *The Making of the English Working Class*, they want to demonstrate agency for marginal groups. By conceiving of the public space as a medium for dialogue among dissenting groups, it becomes a place that “crystallizes the process by which a distinct social group comes to define itself as a group.”⁵⁴

Relative to the Middle Ages, Mah points out that Habermas did conceive of a premodern form of public expression which he rather vaguely called “representative publicness.” He went on to explain this did not mean representative government, but rather it was “the presentation of self to others in such a way that what one was presenting was one’s social status and corporate membership,” which, for example, could be interpreted as the medieval elite presenting themselves to the common people in various public displays as “a means of making a privileged social particularity.”⁵⁵ However, Habermas did not allow for the term to mean a public expression of beliefs in the medieval world, such as the case of the Cathars who it might be argued asserted a representative publicness and a form of public identity that was deemed necessary for them to be declared heretics. Nor would Mah allow such an interpretation, because if a social group came into the public space to represent themselves, “They may be *in* the public, [but] they would never be able to present themselves *as* the public” because they come from outside the public.⁵⁶ Thus, they are the “other.” For Mah, this view does not deny them agency. He concludes that “*The public sphere is a fiction, which, because it can appear real, exerts real political force.*”⁵⁷

Several of the many elements of the Habermasian construct are being confronted by medieval scholars. In 2007 Leidulf Melve, for example, argued that the propaganda debate of the Investiture Contest both illustrated a “structural transformation,” and that it meets the criteria for rational discourse essential

54 Mah, “Phantasies of the Public Sphere” (2000), 161; quote from 165.

55 Mah, “Phantasies of the Public Sphere” (2000), 165.

56 Mah, “Phantasies of the Public Sphere” (2000), 167; emphasis his.

57 Mah, “Phantasies of the Public Sphere” (2000), 168; emphasis mine. Also, see Somers, *Genealogies of Citizenship* (2008), 188, who argues that Habermas developed a Marxist-influenced notion of the public sphere that was “quasi-institutional,” because it referred to public coffeehouses, newspapers, and other material expressions of public opinion, but it did not include public sector institutions. Furthermore, she sees his public sphere as one operating in between the private sphere of individuals acting in their own personal interest and the sphere of public authority. In other words, the public sphere is where private people came together as a public (190), with reference to Habermas, *Structural Transformation* (1989), 27.

to the formation of a public sphere.⁵⁸ In a more recent article he has noted that literary tropes appeared throughout that conflict and invoked an image of publicness. Gregory VII, for example, was observed having “disseminated writings throughout the world,” and of wanting to distract the “miserable and simple people (*miseros illos et simplices homines*).”⁵⁹ These tropes appear in the works of other polemicists and the writings of other popes until the era of the First Crusade, thus providing a “clear indicator of a new concern for public opinion.”⁶⁰

Carol Symes, in a review of Melve’s more extensive argument in his book, is not convinced by the first part, agrees with the second, and offers the recommendation that scholars should go further in trying to demonstrate how the texts he uses (open letters, pamphlets or *libelli*, sermons, and songs) affected the transmission and popularity of the messages they carried. She also raises questions about the relationship between the means of communication and the needs of the various audiences to shape their own opinions that might in turn influence the political decision-making process.⁶¹

In recent studies of the urban environment and its influence on the development of the public voice in the later Middle Ages, Flanders has become a center of attention.⁶² Guilds and crowds became the places where the “people,” defined as those excluded from real political power, began to speak out. When verbal violence was not sufficient to realize agency, then physical revolts took place throughout the first half of the fourteenth century in the major cities of Flanders. Fortunately, however, there were also less extreme ways to achieve popular goals.

One alternative form of communication in later medieval life that began to exert more influence was the theater. As Donnalee Dox reminds us, theatrical

58 Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere* (2007). For a more recent set of reflections on the impact of Habermas on medieval scholars, see *L’espace public au Moyen Âge: Débats autour de Habermas*, ed. Bucheron and Offenstadt (2011).

59 Melve, “Even the Very Laymen” (2013), 36, citing Beno, *Gesta Romanae aeclessiae contra Hildebrandum*, ed. Francke (1892), 375 (“scripta per orbem, terrarum disseminavit”), and, 392 (“distrahere voluisti, miseros illos et simplices homines”).

60 Melve, “Even the Very Laymen” (2013), 36.

61 Symes, review of Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere* (2007), in *The American Historical Review* 114 (2009): 468–69.

62 See, for example, *The Voices of the People in Late Medieval Europe* (2014); Dumolyn, “Guild Politics and Political Guilds” (2014); Dumolyn, “‘Criers and Shouters’” (2008); Dumolyn, “Patterns of Urban Rebellion in Medieval Flanders” (2005); Boone, “Urban Space and Political Conflict” (2002); and Liddy and Haemers, “Popular Politics in the Late Medieval Town” (2013). All tend to agree that the craft guilds were centers of popular politics during the period of the consolidation of guild power in Flemish cities from 1303 to 1360.

performance calls upon the human imagination in a way that was recognized in the thirteenth century by theologians who sought an alternative to Aristotle's model of the bounded cosmos which had no place for the Christian god.⁶³ She argues that imagination "offers a conception of space that links performance space directly with belief in God in a way that two-dimensional iconography, nonmimetic [sic] performance (such as public preaching), statuary, and even liturgy could not."⁶⁴ Whether this was a conscious recognition by those producing and performing theatre in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is not known, but the intuitive sensibility of it was likely as seen in the studies of Carol Symes and others on the ways theatre came out to the public.

In *A Common Stage* Symes directly confronts the limiting of the Habermasian public sphere to the early modern era with a creative interdisciplinary approach focused on the development of theater in thirteenth-century Arras, a significant and wealthy medieval community that had an unusual representative government.⁶⁵ In her view Arras and other medieval communities possessed "all of the economic and cultural conditions to which Habermas ascribed the emergence of the public sphere."⁶⁶ In support of this thesis she takes us into the broader sphere of public life to illustrate how aspects of everyday life such as the crying of the news, preaching, and even the ringing of bells reflected public behavior in physical public spaces.⁶⁷ Moreover, Symes argues the evolution of the impact of the public space by illustrating how the plays of Arras were structurally different from the typical liturgical dramas in that they had topical plots that addressed local political concerns.

In chapter four of her study Symes offers Adam de la Halle's play entitled *Le jeu de la feuillée* (The Play of the Bower) as an example of a "product of public life in the thirteenth century,"⁶⁸ that is, a play that moved away from moral abstraction to take on public issues. Thus, it portrayed the tensions of daily life faced by the citizens of Arras as defined by the contrasting constructs of "popular" versus "aristocratic," or the spontaneity of the "people" versus the rigidity

63 Dox, "Theatrical Space, Mutable Space, and the Space of Imagination" (2000).

64 Dox, "Theatrical Space, Mutable Space, and the Space of the Imagination" (2000), 168.

65 Symes, *A Common Stage* (2007). For discussion of the value of her work, see the reviews by Evelyn Birge Vitz in *Speculum* 84 (2009): 782–84; and Robert M. Stein in *The American Historical Review* 114 (2009): 1515. Also, see Symes, "The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays" (2002).

66 Symes, *A Common Stage* (2007), 127.

67 On the importance of bells in medieval culture and an overview of some of the German scholarship related to the possible application of Habermas, see Haverkamp, "[...] an die große Glocke hängen" (2002), esp. 287–293, re. Habermas.

68 Symes, *A Common Stage* (2007), 185.

of the institutional hierarchy, and the festive sprit of the lay *populus* as opposed to the strictness of the clerical liturgy.

In building her argument Symes also pointed out how the working theater in Arras was typical in that its plays were not always performed in purpose-built structures. Medieval theater often used

[...] the space available for public business [...] and construes plays as the scripted remains of activities that drew on a shared language of visual display, aural stimuli, and spatial orientation . [...] medieval performers were seldom assigned the task of filling a preexisting place with a performance of material deemed appropriate to that place (a theater, a concert hall, a courtroom, a church), but *usually had to attract attention* by carving out a venue and occasion for performance within a space already in use for other purposes.⁶⁹

The awareness of the theater of the need to attract public attention underlines not only its perception of a growing public audience, but also indicates the importance of using various forms of public space for its events.⁷⁰

This applied in other aspects of public life as well. Not only was space important, it was being contested openly in an era that was noted for ongoing ill-defined public authority.⁷¹ Space formerly held by monks, for example, was being reclaimed ceremonially in annual public processions on Ascension Day. As Symes comments, “even the most obvious boundaries were subject to *reinterpretation and debate* and had to be redrawn from time to time, a procedure that was always *better effected through an act of publicity than a building campaign*.”⁷² Moreover, even legitimacy “was dependent on *publicity* [...] on a general acceptance of the version of reality advertised through public media, conceded by the people whose testimony and subsequent behavior determined and reinforced that reality. [...] *Power was a fact, but it had to be established again and again; it had to be publicized*.”⁷³

The game of power was also played out in the language of defamation and insults exchanged between and among the members of the elite and the lower classes.⁷⁴ Inspired by the work of James C. Scott on domination and everyday forms of peasant resistance, scholars have begun to focus on how conflicts and protests function to segregate the elite from the world of the “plebs,” de-

⁶⁹ Symes, *A Common Stage* (2007), 2–3; emphasis mine.

⁷⁰ On medieval theater as “street theater” with political message, see Blanchard, “L’ ‘espace public’ à l’épreuve du théâtre” (2011).

⁷¹ Blanchard, “L’ ‘espace public’ à l’épreuve du théâtre” (2011), 135–6.

⁷² Blanchard, “L’ ‘espace public’ à l’épreuve du théâtre” (2011), 136; emphasis mine.

⁷³ Blanchard, “L’ ‘espace public’ à l’épreuve du théâtre” (2011), 137; emphasis mine.

⁷⁴ Jelle Haemers, “Filthy and Indecent Words” (2014).

defined as those without formal rights to participate in political life.⁷⁵ Using the dynamic urban political culture of the Brabantine and Flemish towns as models, they are illustrating how insults used by late medieval clerics, aldermen, nobles and craftsmen attacked the honor and status of their opponents.

The accentuation of the importance of publicity in Arras was demonstrated in other aspects of public business. Just as most plays were opened with calls for attention (*Oyes*), this was true for public proclamations and legal documents which were addressed “to all those seeing and hearing.” In the courts of justice, words underlined the need for openness. *Fortisfacta* (deeds done openly), *iurisdictio* (the right of pronouncing law), and *clamor* (a universal outcry or a visual witness of tumult or wounds suffered) offered the means to define how justice could only be served if the crimes were openly known at the expense of public reputation of the perpetrators (*infamia*).⁷⁶ The publicness of the criminal act was carried forth after convictions by the practice of reading aloud the names of the guilty in churches every Sunday and feast day until the punishment was lifted.

In the *Jeu de saint Nicolas* we see evidence of the enhancement of public news as defined by the importance of the role of the town crier. As the community was assembled, “Anyone within hearing had notice of assemblies and other public business, while those who paid no attention to the banns or who lived beyond the reach of the crier’s voice were political exiles.”⁷⁷ The crier had great responsibility and authority; he had to ensure that “breaking news” was brought immediately to the attention of the public, and he could do so without consulting any other authority. In all of the various sources reporting on the activities of the town criers reviewed by Symes

[...] it is taken for granted that the *townspeople are not just passive recipients of news, but political, social, and economic agents; hence the attempts to regulate their behavior are matched in attempts to capture their attention and sway their judgment*.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Scott, *Weapons of the Weak* (1985); and, Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990). This area of study is expanding in other directions. See, for example, Lesnick, “Insults and Threats in Medieval Todi” (1991); Ewan, “Many Injurious Words” (2002). On defamation as a popular form of punishment, see Smail, “Violence and Predation” (2012).

⁷⁶ Symes, “Out in the Open in Arras” (2010), 287. Regarding the use of *fama publica* as social control in cases of crimes against sexual morals, see Telechea, “*Fama publica*, Infamy and Defamation” (2007).

⁷⁷ Symes, *A Common Stage* (2007), 143, with reference to Bisson, *Assemblies and Representation in Languedoc* (1964), 300–02.

⁷⁸ Symes, *A Common Stage* (2007), 149; emphasis mine.

Here, quite clearly I think, we see a prime example of the late medieval awareness of the potential power of public opinion within the public sphere.

Other forms of drama were capable of attracting the public eyes and ears as well. Various forms of civic spectacle were designed to entertain and influence, including fashion in dress and royal triumphs.⁷⁹ As the essays in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* reveal, the expansion of urban life brought cramped living quarters, so that “much of life was lived in the public sphere,” from public baptism to inaugurate life, to public banns of marriage at church doors, to the public witnessing of written deeds, the borderline between public and private was often blurred. The bourgeoisie now imitated the spectacles of royalty in Mardi Gras forms in order to claim agency in that public sphere.⁸⁰ But there were more somber reminders of the realities of everyday life as well.

Among the most prominent were public penitential processions meant to shame those who had offended the clerics or violated the spirituality of churches in Arras in some manner. Pranks such as driving cattle from the fields into churchyards or breaking and entering into church buildings were subject to the ultimate penalty of excommunication, but sometimes incurred lesser penalties such as the procession that met the need to satisfy the “public’s need to see the sinner humiliated.”⁸¹ This idea of a penitential pilgrimage was common; in fact, the most common form of pilgrimage was local.⁸²

The romantic view of a medieval church as place where the community of faithful was united in pious common worship has been largely discounted in recent years. Moving inside the church structure did not necessarily end the tensions between the clergy and laity that were first detected in the tenth century and accelerated into the thirteenth. One medieval scholar, for example, has attempted to argue that the debate over the nature of the power of the papal office in the wake of the Investiture Contest was continued in the public decoration of churches with frescoes, mosaics, altars, inscriptions, or tombs associated with the successors of Gregory VII.⁸³ Another study of Romanesque wall painting in central France from the twelfth century argues that the illustrations “served

⁷⁹ As discussed in Bryant, “Configurations of the Community” (1994). Also, see Clopper, *Drama, Play, and Game* (2001); Crane, *The Performance of Self* (2002); Kipling, *Enter the King* (1998); and Brown, “Habermas, Philippe le Bel et l’espace public” (2011).

⁸⁰ *City and Spectacle*, ed. Hanawalt and Reyerson (1994), xiv-xv.

⁸¹ Kittell, “Traveling for Atonement” (2010), 22. Also, see Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners* (1995); Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage* (1999), esp. 51–63; and Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage* (2003).

⁸² Wilson, Introduction to *Saints and Their Cults* (1983), 12.

⁸³ Stroll, *Symbols as Power* (1991). Also, see the review by Miller, in *Speculum* 68 (1993): 265–66.

the particular interests of clerical communities, regular and secular, by helping to create and perpetuate their collective identities,” while defining the nature of the parishes and their separate roles within.⁸⁴ Instead of a neutral reserve of peace, a church “provided a site where political conflicts within the Church and between ecclesiastical and lay power, were played out.”⁸⁵ Unfortunately, it seems that the artistic decoration of churches served to maintain social divisions in the very center of a local Christian community.

Based on research such as this, scholars have come more to see lay people as “detached, passive spectators” as the clerics mechanically celebrated the liturgy.⁸⁶ Evidence cited includes the construction of the rood screens that separated the clergy from the laity in the naves so that those in attendance could barely even see what was going on at the altar. This too might be an exaggeration of the reality; one’s experience of church could be quite varied depending upon its size and the actual construction of its various components (nave, chancel, side altars, aisles, etc.). This description applied, of course, mostly to the large churches and cathedrals, but there were also many more parish churches and chapels (public and private), and even chapels within cathedrals. Thus, when speaking of “separate spaces, boundaries between those spaces, or communal gatherings, historical realities do not lend themselves to a tidy overview.”⁸⁷

The building of churches to accommodate more of the laity brought special problems. Attracting pilgrims was important, but they could interfere with other functions that served the local laity, especially the liturgy of the Eucharist. So special entries had to be prepared and wider side aisles. Monastic churches often were open to local laity, which led to special altars or chapels to meet their needs. The plan for the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland illustrates great attention to the need to provide for the partitioning of many different spaces to coordinate both monks and the laypeople as they worshipped.⁸⁸ As the widening of the public spaces occurred and was supported by laity, many demanded public recognition of their donations. The glass in the early fourteenth-century cathedral of Cologne displays the coats of arms of several patrician families. Even the design of a church could be influenced by wealthy lay supporters, especially through the addition of chapels during the heightened period of spiritual enthusiasm.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Kupfer, *Romanesque Wall Painting in Central France* (1993), 1.

⁸⁵ Kupfer, *Romanesque Wall Painting in Central France* (1993), 1.

⁸⁶ Kieckhefer, “The Impact of Architecture” (2009), 109.

⁸⁷ Kieckhefer, “The Impact of Architecture” (2009), 109.

⁸⁸ Kieckhefer, “The Impact of Architecture” (2009), 134–35.

⁸⁹ Kieckhefer, “The Impact of Architecture” (2009), 135–37.

In observing the influence of the laity on church architecture, a couple of key points stand out. First, almost all churches, even many monastic ones, were being built to accommodate growing lay congregations from all ranks of society. Second, before the Gregorian reform, lay fiscal support came primarily from the nobility. But this shifted in the thirteenth century, when most of the donations came from the urban patriciate and artisans of the municipal government. Still an elite, but one broadened to include the rising bourgeoisie who contested the public sphere with the aristocrats.⁹⁰

Spaces, even those deemed sacred, were subject to violation and punishment for the offenders. However, we also note that this is a sign of an increased public scrutiny and demand for use of these contested spaces. As physical space became more limited with the rapid growth of population, local clergy tried to recapture liminal spaces, such as church courtyards or cemeteries that had been traditionally used for dances, fairs, and public markets. By the twelfth century an attempt was made to prohibit such use, but this was nearly impossible to enforce. As late as 1280 in Arras the bishop was issuing decrees that cemeteries should be enclosed to prohibit occupation by wild or domestic animals, but the order had to be repeated regularly.⁹¹

Studies of the earlier Ottonian era indicate how important secular rituals were becoming in order to legitimate the growth of central government. Public gatherings were used to present kings to their “people” (in this case, the greater magnates), thus legitimizing the kings, but also those being ruled. In this “theatre of rulership” all the elite were required to play a public role, but the sources do not reveal how this affected the greater numbers of the population. Regardless, greater centralization required greater legitimization.⁹² Public assemblies to achieve this were apparently more open to those not part of the smaller elite circles. More and more the assemblies had to be public. They allowed for staged emotions by individuals (e. g., the king’s ire—*ira regis*) and groups (e. g., individuals could be bullied by an emotional assembly). In disputes one of the most important symbols in the process of settlement was the public ceremonial *Pax* (“kiss of peace”). Henry II made great issue of it in his fight with Becket. It was a public dispute and it had to be settled publicly. Although he promised the *Pax*, it was never delivered, a sure sign that the dispute was not over in Hen-

⁹⁰ Kieckhefer, “The Impact of Architecture” (2009), 145–46.

⁹¹ Symes, *A Common Stage* (2007), 152.

⁹² Reuter, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities* (2006), 133, 143, and 145. Also, see Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor* (1992); and Koziol, “England, France and the Problem of Sacral-ity” (1995).

ry's mind or in the minds of those observing it.⁹³ From his studies of assemblies Tim Reuter concluded that "there was indeed a 'public,' but it was a public which did not, except perhaps at moments of great crisis and heightened tension, have a permanent existence; it came into being at assemblies, and it dissolved again when they ended."⁹⁴

There was ritualistic overlap in many arenas. Ecclesiastical rituals, for example, long the public space of clerical separation from and domination over the laity, were becoming more open to public sponsorship and public participation. Although a variety of understandings of the term have emerged and shaped our world, some conclude that that we still have no clear understanding of what constitutes "ritual."⁹⁵ In the medieval context one might think of ritual in terms of relic-translations and elevations, or oath-taking and knighting ceremonies, ordeals and public penances. In fact, many practices have been labeled "ritual." Baptisms of rulers, coronations, princely funerals and entries into cities and churches have all been included, as well as other processions, civic games, banquets and gift-giving.⁹⁶ In Italy, from the late thirteenth century processions and other celebrations of the saints became increasingly public affairs. Communal statutes, for example, attest to the development of a civic cult of the saints. From simply providing candles to be lit at commemorations, to more elaborate processions, and even declared holidays, these public displays and "ritualistic" practices were used to promote local saints as a matter of civic pride and to enlist the public to solicit papal approval for canonization.⁹⁷ Around 1200, synodal decrees coming from Paris declared that priests should make themselves visible to the public in church when hearing confessions. In the thirteenth century Arras went so far as to "stage" the performance of confession. Priests were ordered to create an illusion of "magisterial detachment" by sitting in a "sideways position, not in a concealed place, but in a place where he can be seen by everyone" while keeping a "humble countenance, eyes lowered to the ground," and he should mete out penance impartially like Christ in the images of the Last Judgment.⁹⁸

⁹³ Reuter, *Medieval Politics* (2006), 179–81 and 183–84.

⁹⁴ Reuter, *Medieval Politics* (2006), 207.

⁹⁵ Bell, *Ritual* (1997), x. Reuter, *Medieval Politics* (2006), 96, accepted that ambiguity is inherent in the language of ritual and symbolism.

⁹⁶ Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual* (2001), 5. On the polemical tone of Buc regarding social-science approaches, see Walsham, "Review Article: The Dangers of Ritual" (2003).

⁹⁷ Vauchez, "Patronage des saints et religion civique" (1986).

⁹⁸ Symes, *A Common Stage* (2007), 153.

The ritual of investiture is a prime example of how the public sphere was becoming a seedbed for conflicting public uses of symbolism. When Gregory VII confronted Henry IV he attempted to “desacralize” royal authority in the Empire and extend that diminution to England and France as well. However, it appears that because of later pragmatic concerns that led to compromise, the effort had a minimal impact on political liturgy. Despite the goals of church reform to “liberate” the ecclesiastical hierarchy from lay interference, bishops and kings needed one another. In the medieval version of “all politics is local,” the “real enemies were nearer at home, in upstart communes, rapacious, promiscuous knights, and local lords waging destructive wars.”⁹⁹ Both ecclesiastical and royal rituals tended to retain older typologies that were resistant to the demands of reformers. As kings became more dependent on knights, for example, the romance of chivalry came more to influence political rituals than did ecclesiastical mandates.¹⁰⁰ Thus, in the very public coronation ritual in both England and France, spurs were added to the traditional insignia of crown, ring, rod, scepter, and sword. The spur was a very clear chivalric emblem that tended to undermine the liturgical elements; a fact not lost on either the ecclesiastical or lay publics.¹⁰¹

By far the Christian ritual most central in both physical and metaphorical space was the celebration of the Mass. In a late fourteenth-century copy of the *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, we read “the worthiest thing, most of goodness in all this world, it is the Messe.”¹⁰² At the height of the chronological period studied here the Mass was seen as a celebration of community, one repeated each Sunday and on holydays with a sung mass. Of particular importance was the inclusion of the rite of the *Pax*, the Kiss of Peace shared within the congregation during the celebration. From the time of Gregory the Great to Innocent III the *Pax* was expanded with prayers intended to “assimilate the sacramental act to a ritual of social peace among Christians.”¹⁰³ Although seemingly magical—delivered in its sung form, behind a screen, and with a canon in a language not known to the everyday lay person—the power of the Mass derived from the fact that it offered salvation to all. This was power in the hands of the clergy, but one being challenged more and more by the laity.

⁹⁹ Koziol, “England, France, and the Problem of Sacrality” (1995), 127.

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, the comments of Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels* (2000), 103, re. friendship as respect between and among kings and courtiers in the secular courts.

¹⁰¹ Koziol, “England, France, and the Problem of Sacrality” (1995), 135–37.

¹⁰² *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, ed. Simmons (1879), 2; as cited in Bossy, “The Mass as a Social Institution” (1983), 30.

¹⁰³ Bossy, “The Mass as a Social Institution” (1983), 54.

Clerics were enjoined to be on their best behavior in other public occasions, such as the parades of relics or the Eucharist, so as to provide a good “public model” for the laity. The oft-repeated nature of the injunctions suggests that they were being ignored by clerics, however, and there were even blatant displays of theatricality. As Symes discovered at Arras, “There is ample evidence that even those in major orders were richly engaged in public life.”¹⁰⁴ So much so apparently that by 1256 Pope Alexander IV deemed it necessary to intervene with an order making exemplary conduct a requisite of clerical status. Symes concludes that this was a very significant step in the evolution of the public sphere: “Public opinion was therefore called to the service of canon law, since any judgment about which clerics were properly behaved and which were not would have to be determined on the ground: the papacy could set the standard, but it could not apply it.”¹⁰⁵ Failing to meet the true test of public opinion, however, the canon was entirely abandoned at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274.

The initial arrival of the friars in Arras beginning around 1220 put strains on the local secular clergy. Their popularity as roving preachers stretched the public boundaries, causing the local bishop to limit their access to cemeteries and parish churches. However, they could not restrict the public roads since the friars had received papal approval of their evangelism, and they could not stop “itinerant preachers from doing what every jongleur was free to do in the marketplace or streets: perform.”¹⁰⁶ Recognizing the potential of the public sphere afforded by the cities, Humbert of Romans, as head of the Dominican Order from 1254 to 1263, composed a preaching manual that urged his preachers to use simple language and to craft their sermons recognizing the nature of the occasion, the potential audience, and the need to entertain. It is likely that storytelling to please a generic metropolitan public replaced the ritualistic liturgical language.¹⁰⁷ The techniques were condemned by the local secular clergy, but their distrust, “like the Church’s official disapproval of public entertainers, was linked to the fact that all were vying for the same audiences.”¹⁰⁸

More subtle forms of opinion shaping can be seen in the evolving medieval culture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Just as the displays of relics in

104 Symes, *A Common Stage* (2007), 156.

105 Symes, *A Common Stage* (2007), 158.

106 Symes, *A Common Stage* (2007), 162.

107 Symes, *A Common Stage* (2007), 163, who calls attention to Lester Little’s argument to that effect in his *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy* (1978), 31–34 and 198–99. Also, see Bataillon, *La prédication au XIII^e siècle* (1993).

108 Baldwin, “The Image of the Jongleur” (1997), 639. Also, see Symes, *A Common Stage* (2007), 164.

open fields were made to attract crowds to support the cause of peace in the tenth century, it has been argued that portal sculpture on the “white mantle” of Romanesque churches that first sprung up in the eleventh century was used to attract more followers into those churches in order to hear and heed the messages of the preachers regarding socio/political issues. Charles Altman has determined that by far the most commonly represented parable was that of Dives and Lazarus. Most often the parable was interpreted with a message to the urban poor. It offered them solace that the rich are doomed to eternal torture unless they share their wealth on earth. As sculpted in the portal entrance it was most likely visible to the poor beggars who often congregated there.¹⁰⁹ However, the portal can be also seen as a

[...] dividing line and the passageway between secular and sacred space. On the one side the dealings of the marketplace, where men are judged by their pocketbook; on the other side the church [...] where only spiritual riches may be counted. [...] To enter is to adopt certain values and leave others behind.”¹¹⁰

However, the Dives and Lazarus parable had another message regarding the divide between the rich and the poor that was understood in the twelfth century by Radulphus Ardens to be this: “By this example the poor and the sick learn not to complain about their misfortunes, nor to condemn the rich, but to praise God and to blame their suffering on their own sins.”¹¹¹ Thus, Altman argues that the message serves both poor and rich by dignifying poverty and promising paradise to the former, and offering the latter a defense against a potential revolt. Since the annual liturgy for the Second Sunday after Pentecost required the homily to be the passage of the Lazarus parable taken from the Gospel of Luke (16: 19 ff.), Altman reasons that the parable was preached so often in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that it is likely that “No faithful parishioner could have remained unaware of this accepted interpretation.”¹¹²

More recently it has been proposed that another parable, the Prodigal’s journey [Luke 15:11–32], was used by the clerics in the construction of thirteenth-century Gothic cathedrals to portray growing medieval cities as centers of deception

109 Altman, “The Medieval Marquee” (1986), 10–11, citing Male, *The Gothic Image* (1958). Altman thinks that Male misperceived the popularity of the parable in the thirteenth century. His own research indicates that of the thirty-three locations of the portal sculpture only four date from the thirteenth, with the rest from either the eleventh or twelfth centuries (14, n. 12).

110 Altman, “The Medieval Marquee” (1986), 11.

111 Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1963; as cited by Altman, “The Medieval Marquee” (1986), 12; trans. his.

112 Altman, “The Medieval Marquee” (1986), 12–13; quote from 13.

and corruption that created dangers to one's salvation which could only be overcome with penitence and renunciation.¹¹³ In the metaphor of the prodigal it is argued that there are two economies, the spiritual and the market, in conflict with one another in the public sphere, and that its popularity in medieval cathedral art is possibly due to its realistic construct of a "powerful ideological map of the medieval world at this time."¹¹⁴

This becomes further illustration of how, as the population grew and demanded larger churches to accommodate them and the pilgrims flooding the pathways, the clerical community was becoming more fully aware of the potential power of the crowds of people who came to command attention in the public sphere. Moreover, the complexity of the *populus* made it increasingly difficult to meet both its spiritual and its secular needs as we reach the end of the era under study herein.

It is also important to notice the enhanced use of the arts, ceremonies, and processions by secular authorities, especially after 1200, as information and propaganda to influence both the laity and the clergy.¹¹⁵ Windows in cathedrals, such as Strasbourg, Paris, Chartres, and Reims, offered galleries of kings to remind the congregations of the principle of orderly succession. In Siena, Ambrogio Lorenzetti painted frescoes to translate Aristotle's views of the distinction between good and bad government. Thus, before the invention of printing, funerary ceremonies, coronation ordines, imperial entries, and even sermons preached with themes specified by the king were used to "shape minds" via spectacles and other visual images.

Moving from the theater and public life of Arras and cathedrals of France, to the marketplaces of England, James Masschaele invites us to see how the publicness of the market provided socio-political as well as economic occasions to cultivate the public sphere.¹¹⁶ With the growth of population, the settlement of new towns, and the expansion of commerce he argues that the marketplace became a space for the formation and dissemination of cultural patterns. Not only was commerce transacted, but royal proclamations were issued, and local governmental and ecclesiastical authorities used it for various public purposes. Even the Magna Carta, the Provisions of Oxford, and most statutes and ordinances were publicized through oral proclamations to reinforce the king's authority.¹¹⁷ Crimes were publicly punished as well as sins and heresy. Other public spaces

113 Guest, "The Prodigal's Journey" (2006).

114 Guest, "The Prodigal's Journey" (2006), 65.

115 Guenée, *States and Rulers* (1985), esp. 25–31.

116 Masschaele, "The Public Space of the Market Place" (2002).

117 Musson, *Medieval Law in Context* (2001), 225–28.

—churches, churchyards, village greens, and town squares—also functioned in similar ways. In effect, various public spaces became the sites where lay and clerical authorities often attempted to reach out and influence the base of society.

By the time urban markets were thriving in late medieval English towns, it is argued that they can be related conceptually to the models of the public sphere developed by Habermas and others. Based on the evidence of their size and the vigor of their activity, markets acquired a prominent role as public social spaces for peasants and villagers. Market spaces were used as places for public censure and punishment; and, as a sphere for the dissemination of news about politics and government. Though one might expect the focus to be on larger urban settings, in fact Masschaele draws more attention to the rural countryside because that is the place where the markets were first born and where the inhabitants had fewer alternatives for public life. Thus, his analysis presents complementary support to the findings of Symes and others regarding towns for the idea that the public sphere was broadening across the spectrum of social life in the late Middle Ages.

Masschaele does not believe that all markets were flourishing centers. Many were insecure and fell out of use, such as witnesses at an inquisition in Essex in 1276 testified about Roydon; or was similarly noted in a property rights investigation about the market at Warden in Bedfordshire in 1330.¹¹⁸ However, as the study by R. H. Britnell established, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries more than one thousand new markets were licensed.¹¹⁹ Masschaele's own more extensive research on this trade acknowledges the difficulty in establishing why some failed while others succeeded.¹²⁰ Regardless, for this study it is the awareness of the growth of a perceived need for a public space to engage in various activities, some more mercantile in nature, but many being quite publicly political, that is important to observe. The small village of Stow-on-the-Wold in the Cotswold, for example, envisioned a market site designed to encompass about 12,000 square yards in order to accommodate what it hoped would be "hundreds of buyers and sellers," and it was not unique in the twelfth and subsequent centuries.¹²¹

118 See the study of Harvey, "The 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century" (1991), 12, who concluded that rural markets were "small-scale" and "precarious."

119 Britnell, "The Proliferation of Markets in England, 1200–1349" (1981).

120 Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants, and Markets* (1997), 103–5 and 167–68; Masschaele, "The Multiplicity of Medieval Markets Reconsidered" (1994).

121 Masschaele, "The Public Space of the Marketplace" (2002), 389.

In addition to buying and selling, the marketplace was a social occasion filled with “chatter.” Kings, as well as municipal officials, knew enough to take advantage of this and used the open space to communicate news and official proclamations. J. R. Maddicott wrote that the proclamations played a key role in the formation of public opinion because the markets “gave English kings faster, broader, and more direct access to peasant opinion makers than they had ever had.”¹²² Although the practice of making public notice of the king’s business began in the Anglo-Saxon county courts, there is little sign of its use in the markets prior to the thirteenth century when in 1204 King John ordered his sheriffs to proclaim a forthcoming change in currency.¹²³ Henry III did not use public proclamations very often, but Edward I began early in his reign (r. 1272–1307) to renew their regular use, a practice that proved useful to propagandize the role of the king as the guarantor of the public good, and to “spin the news” of his accomplishments—a practice well appreciated into the Tudor era.¹²⁴

A particularly important aspect of the proclamation in the late Middle Ages was the need to publicize those initiatives of the king that required broad participation if they were to succeed. Examples include, upon the dissolution of the Templars, a proclamation in the “most suitable” places in every county of the kingdom of a blanket invitation urging tenants and others who might lay claim to Templar property to make their concerns known directly to the king. Marketplaces were also where the clergy broadcast news or requested feedback from the public, as in the case of the archbishop of York in 1315 who hoped to obtain information on the whereabouts of a cleric who had been accused of theft.¹²⁵ Based on the borough records of Cambridge, it is obvious that local authorities took advantage of the marketplace to publicize thefts, a practice noted in other larger communities, but likely also to have occurred in rural markets. In dealing with issues of the law, public penance, punishing heretics or publicizing banns of excommunication, the market was convenient and useful to influence public opinion as well. By the twelfth century in England the public pillory, or “stocks,” were becoming prominent.¹²⁶ Though the degree to which public sham-

122 Maaschaele, “The Public Space of the Marketplace,” 391; with reference to Maddicott, “The County Community and the Making of Public Opinion” (1978). Also, see Ferster, *Fictions of Advice* (1996).

123 Masschaele, “The Public Space of the Marketplace” (2002), 391, citing *Rotuli litterarum patentium*, 1201–1216, ed. Hardy (London, 1835), 1:47–48.

124 Masschaele, “The Public Space of the Marketplace” (2002), 392.

125 Masschaele, “The Public Space of the Marketplace” (2002), 394–95, citing *The Register of William Greenfield, Lord Archbishop of York, 1306–1315*, 4, ed. Brown and Thompson, Surtees Society 152 (Durham, UK, 1938), 231.

126 Masschaele, “The Public Space of the Marketplace” (2002), 401.

ing devices were actually used is in dispute, Masschaele believes that they were “probably more common and more widely disseminated than might be inferred from existing historical literature.”¹²⁷

Mention of the marketplace as an arm of justice or place for proclamations to influence public opinion requires us to emphasize the role of the county court as a parallel physical and metaphorical space that fulfilled many public social and political functions.¹²⁸ The county court was held in public with hundreds attending from across the territorial space encompassed by county boundaries. For Maddicott it was a dynamic focus for a county’s aspirations. The court became the place where petitions representing the views of the locality, not just individuals within it, were drawn up to forward to parliament as common petitions. In effect it functioned as a quasi-political assembly, and well complemented the value of the marketplace in the emerging public sphere.¹²⁹

Having studied the use of the public market for some time, Masschaele reaches several broader conclusions about the public sphere in the later Middle Ages. First, the established authorities used the public space of the market “as a stage on which to display their power,” but they were not the only ones to understand its political implications. A number of examples, such as at Abingdon in 1327, are found in which peasants, artisans and traders erupted in opposition to attempts to impose new ordinances governing the use of the local market.¹³⁰ Apparently this incident was the outcome of a longstanding conflict between the monastic overlord and the people of the town over who actually controlled the market space, and the people decided that the monks were overreaching and threatened to undermine the public identity of the townspeople. Such incidents appear to escalate at the time of the Peasants’ Revolt of 1381, but by the early fourteenth century a stage had been set whereupon the elevation of political issues of control were to be played out in the public sphere.

The second conclusion reached by Masschaele is that although he considers the markets to be especially important, the notion of medieval public space must also take into account a broader range of examples, including churches, graveyards, shrines, village greens, town squares and ports; even alehouses, shops, manor houses, and “other venues that could shift from private to public and

¹²⁷ Masschaele, “The Public Space of the Marketplace” (2002), 402. Cf. John Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order* (1973), 162–98, who has argued that their use was less common than punishment by monetary fines.

¹²⁸ Maddicott, “The County Community and the Making of Public Opinion” (1978).

¹²⁹ Maddicott, “The County Community and the Making of Public Opinion” (1978), 29.

¹³⁰ Masschaele, “The Public Space of the Marketplace” (2002), 415.

back again depending on circumstances.”¹³¹ Markets were the best examples of social spaces because they typically drew a broad cross-section of participants from a radius of about ten miles, thus significantly enlarging the impact of the influence of public opinion. This activity accelerated in the period from about 1150 to 1300, the so-called “golden age for the foundation of new markets in the countryside,” that is, a period in which “the economic and cultural habits of attending markets came to be widely ingrained in society, including among the peasantry.”¹³²

As both Symes and Masschaele concerned themselves with the public uses of physical space we are reminded it is only recently that the study of medieval concepts of space and its uses began to blossom fully.¹³³ Much of that work bears signs of the influence of Henri Lefebvre’s *La Production de l’espace* published in 1974, who argued that space could be produced and constructed as perceived, conceived, or lived.¹³⁴ In the medieval world, for example, *mappae mundi* portrayed Jerusalem as the center of the world, the use of space in the cathedral was altered by the introduction of the rood screen that divided the laity from the clergy, and everyday lived space was defined by gender wherein women occupied internal spaces (rooms, houses, quarters) and men functioned in external spaces (streets, highways, cities, oceans).¹³⁵

Recent scholarship is exploring how much the uses of space in the Middle Ages were in constant flux. By the thirteenth century there are many indicators of how much more various spaces were being constructed as the places for public functions. Michael Camille, for example, has studied how street signage was being developed to define the spaces within the city of Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He believes that signs are “indicators of lived social place,” and that “place,” or at least spaces rather than space, should be considered a better way to understand medieval thinking about the public lived environment.¹³⁶ Signs were used to identify houses, or more often as signs seeking protection of the saints or as pre-Christian magical omens or astrological signs (sun, moon, etc.). These symbols were widely known to the public. They were associated with status, represented urbanity, particularly its mercantile nature, and opened the streets to “win-

131 Masschaele, “The Public Space of the Marketplace” (2002), 418.

132 Masschaele, “The Public Space of the Marketplace” (2002), 419.

133 For a good introduction, see *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. Hanawalt and Kobialka (2000), xvii–xviii, with a brief bibliography on the wider theoretical discussion of the representation of space.

134 Lefebvre, *La Production de l’espace* (1991).

135 *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. Hanawalt and Kobialka (2000), ix–x.

136 Camille, “Signs of the City” (2000), 9.

dow-shopping” that could create envy and desires among a widespread public. In summing up his analysis Camille suggests that medieval signage created a “public fantasy,” that was “not in opposition to anything in the private realm, but in the medieval sense of the word “public” that sees the *res publica* as that which belonged to the community as a whole.”¹³⁷ Here we see another aspect of the broadening of the public sphere wherein the house signs of Paris

[...] marked sites of multiple and shifting identities, places and communities, shared structures of the imaginary [...] not imposed from above [...] but which were articulated from within the teeming multiplicity of the body politic itself.¹³⁸

The streets of Paris as public spaces became a means of an expanding bourgeois public identity and fantasy.

In closing this chapter on the developing medieval public sphere, I call attention to the conclusions of Symes and Masschaele in particular. Based on further reflection of the theater and various other aspects of public life in Arras, Symes later came to offer her own definition of the medieval public sphere as

[...] an arena where meaning was made and contested through the skillful deployment of certain well-known techniques to which most people had at least some degree of access; the occupation of open areas or streets, the attraction of attention through noisemaking and the crying of news, the expression of opinion or dissent through the interruption of official announcements and the adoption of certain behaviors [...] and the attempted regulation or protection of such things.¹³⁹

Symes sees these medieval media as “analogous or superior to the printed news-sheet, the broadside, or the cheap political pamphlet” because they “contributed to a shared vocabulary that facilitated public assembly, negotiation, debate, and decision-making.”¹⁴⁰

In turning to consider the applicability of Habermas to the market places of later medieval England, Masschaele concluded that of the two issues he raised, namely the definition of the public sphere and how public spheres intersected with the political structures to influence the type of state that emerged, the latter was the most important in the context of the medieval world. English marketplaces did not lead to modernity, or play a meaningful role in the evolution of modern political traditions, but it “does not mean that medieval England lacked a

137 Camille, “Signs of the City” (2000), 29.

138 Camille, “Signs of the City” (2000), 29.

139 Symes, “Out in the Open in Arras” (2010), 287.

140 Symes, “Out in the Open in Arras” (2010), 287.

public sphere or that its public sphere was socially insignificant, or that its public sphere was irrelevant to the power relations of its own day.”¹⁴¹

So here we have alternatives to Habermas that suggests that one might find at least two levels of operational public spheres in the medieval context. As Symes proposes, it was first a sphere that was actually more functional and reflective of medieval realities, and even more “public” in the sense that it operated in the open and was accessible to “most people” found in the dynamic urban environment of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Masschaele argues in parallel and in particular that there was a medieval public sphere in the marketplace and that it functioned in socially and politically significant ways. In addition, however, one might also perceive a more “Habermasian sphere” that functioned earlier in medieval society among the *literati* in the investiture and reform conflicts of the eleventh century where access to the power debate was quite limited even though the call to “public opinion” was being made regularly. In the current study I am persuaded that there is an evolution from the earlier form of a somewhat metaphysical public sphere to the practical, accessible public space as defined by Symes, Masschaele, and others.

Rollison noted that in England bills and libels were nailed up in prominent public places as far back as the use of vernacular emerged. Kings took pleasure in ‘publicness.’ They, along with the lords, took care with “public relations,” and “they put different ‘spins’ on events and relations between the classes of constitutional life.”¹⁴² But this does not mean that public culture should be seen as “something emanating from the centre [sic], or from the courtly apex of a celestial pyramid of degrees and vocations.”¹⁴³ In fact it is better to see the various uses of public spaces as “signs of the early emergence of a ‘public sphere’ that was capable, in times of political crisis, of reaching deep into society, and that was premised on popular ideas of tyranny.”¹⁴⁴ Though it may have climaxed later in English history, the rise of the public sphere as a place of political discourse began in the period under review in this study.

Recent examinations of the late medieval culture are now illuminating how much, as the thinkers struggled with the theory of popular sovereignty,¹⁴⁵ the “people” moved to seize more of the public space for its own use for theatre, markets, and various forms of public display or celebration to attract and influ-

141 Masschaele, “The Public Space of the Marketplace” (2002), 420.

142 Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People* (2010), 143. Also, see Scase, “Strange and Wonderful Bills” (1998).

143 Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People* (2010), 143.

144 Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People* (2010), 143.

145 See chapter 7 below.

ence public opinion. As urbanization expanded so did public squares, open markets, the use of criers and bell-ringing to signal key events, while the expanded presence of various bourgeois guilds created both separate publics and a broader general public sphere. These spaces became places to gather to share views, receive news, communicate ideas and develop a sense of identity with one's community. One could be a part of several 'publics' in this process of evolution.

Chapter 7

Community, Representation, and the *Populus* in Practice and Theory

In the struggle for power between popes and kings, medieval jurists turned to Aristotle, natural law, and custom to try to define a “properly ordered world.”¹ Moving from a more rural life dominated by tradition and feudal custom in the practice of justice toward a central society governed by the rule of law, the administration of law and justice became more formally public. Gavin Langmuir, in a study of Capetian France, raised an important question about how medieval groups could change laws, and observed that there were many types of communities, and each developed its own way to modify laws. Church councils, Anglo-Saxon dooms, Peace of God assemblies, and constitution-making by communes represent only the surface of various examples. The common thread in this evolutionary process, however, was an “emphasis on numbers and consent.”²

Harold Berman determined that the roots of subsequently developing secular law in Western Europe are to be found in the Investiture Contest.³ Defining the tactics of Gregory VII in seeking legal supremacy of the pope over all Christians and the secular realm as “revolutionary,” he portrays the ensuing struggle that led to the creation of a system of law as one that separated the roles of the clerical and lay communities, but retained complementary goals of justice and the common good. The rediscovery of Roman law in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* prompted new thinking, but Berman argues it was the church lawyers who led the way in developing legal principles and concepts that had transferability, and subsequently influenced the development of secular law. In addition to judicial procedure, the influence of canon law was especially felt in legislation pertaining to aspects of everyday life, including marriage, inheritance, property, contracts, crimes, and torts. The thesis has been challenged over the years, but the basic premise of separation and interactive influence has not been seriously undermined.

¹ Pennington, *The Prince and the Law* (1993), 1. According to Pennington, a brilliant introduction to these ideas is offered in Cortese, *La norma giuridica* (1964).

² Langmuir, “Community and Legal Change” (1970), 280.

³ Berman, *The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (1983). Also see the pithy review of this work by James Sweeney in *Journal of Law and Religion* 2 (1984): 197–205.

In the wake of the Investiture Contest we do find that secular legal theorists became focused on the role of “prince,” a term used to describe all rulers.⁴ By the end of the twelfth century, the Roman law maxim “*Rex in regno suo imperator est*” came to structure a discussion about power and rights. Was it possible for the prince to change the law without consultation, and if so, under what conditions? Could the prince break the law, or deprive the citizens of their rights without cause? As these issues were raised across Europe, a climate of opinion began to be developed among the jurists.

Regarding England in particular, because of the relationship of these issues to the “proper order,” or “common good,” the focus of more recent scholars has shifted to those responsible for various legal processes conducted in both local and royal courts. What they have noted is the production of written documents that needed to be publicly witnessed or made public to insure observance. Even so-called “private” charters were not; they could be used as evidence in open court cases. Moreover, “legal transactions in the course of which they were drawn up, and of which they served as written records, were public ceremonies where the spoken word and highly visual rituals also had a prominent role to play.”⁵ This was true as early as the development of written charters in the Carolingian world, but it grew more significant with the growth of literacy.⁶ From that point forward the granting of royal privileges appears to have become a “central ingredient of the representation of rule” that required a charter to be the “witness” of a wider social interaction, which “to be effective it did not only need the consent of the parties involved, but also *notification and endorsement by a wider public*.”⁷ By the time we reach Anglo-Saxon England of the tenth and eleventh centuries royal charters reflecting on public ceremonies, such as the meeting of a court, stress that the king is “acting with consent of his *optimates*.”⁸ Although one might want to dismiss this as mere symbolism, a case can be made that those drafting the charters felt it important to create at least

4 Pennington, *The Prince and the Law* (1993), 3–5.

5 Declercq, “Between Legal Action and Performance” (2011), 56. For a critique of modern historians on the subject of medieval ritual, see Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual* (2002). Also, see Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter* (1997); Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor* (1992); and Koziol, “The Dangers of Polemic” (2003).

6 Zeller, “Writing Charters as a Public Activity” (2011); Bedos-Rezak, “Civic Liturgies and Urban Records” (1994).

7 Keller, “The Privilege in the Public Interaction of the Exercise of Power” (2011), 104; emphasis mine.

8 Insley, “Rhetoric and Ritual” (2011), 120–21.

the “impression of consensus.” Thus the undefined “shadow public” was emerging, however faintly, in royal charters.

Regardless, other aspects of the heritage of custom played a significant role in the evolution of the public culture of law. In an era marked by a blurred line between public and private, much of that custom is only best revealed from a reading of the pre-thirteenth-century literature whose evolution paralleled the feudal standard of trial by combat with the secular and canonical procedures of the inquest.⁹ Before silent reading became the norm, literature was spoken aloud; it was in this sense “public,” and the degree to which it has been preserved from the period under review in this study suggests a growing audience. As well, this literature reflects changes in society of the era, including the uses in writing, and the legal revolution that were part of the renaissance of the twelfth century. Reading the Old French epics one finds a custom of violence that justifies the claims of the aristocracy to hegemony, but the courtly literature offers “new possibilities of human order which conflict with rather than support nobility’s traditional function,” and creates “the possibility of a state independent of personal ties of independence.”¹⁰ However, society did not forego its links to certain individual longings. As the call for consideration of the common good became louder, the tension with private conscience also became greater.¹¹

This proved especially true with regard to the role of *fama*, as well as in the growing belief that according to the maxim *Quod omnes tangit* those affected by law should have more to say than the acclamation of approval of the decisions of monarchs or the elite in its development. It was not until the end of the era under consideration here that formal representative bodies (parliament, *parlement*) began to take shape with the ability to represent a broad spectrum of society, and place at least some limits on the exercise of power by the centralizing monarchies. Each of these developments contributed to the broadening of the developing public sphere as we see in what follows.

Fama

Public opinion depends on talk. The medieval world witnessed a lot of talk. Talk could be “sinful gossip” and condemned, or it could be “appreciated as some-

⁹ For an insightful reading of the French literature that traces this process, see Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law* (1977).

¹⁰ Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law* (1977), 257–58.

¹¹ For a thoughtful approach to these issues in the medieval context, see Moos, “Public et privée à la fin du Moyen Âge” (2000).

thing to be deployed for good and honest ends.”¹² In the early Christian church talk meant the spread of the Gospel, “good news,” and the fame of Jesus was spread widely according to Matthew 4.24. In Luke 5.15 the news of Christ’s miracles was the beginning of good news and Christ’s fame spread before him as great multitudes came to hear him and witness his miracles. Yet the message of the Gospels overall was not that man should seek fame, but rather humility.¹³ This irony continued in the ongoing development of fame. The dual attitude toward fame and glory continued in the Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian traditions of literature, but the secularization of later medieval culture enabled the troubadours and *minnesingers* to place the ideal of fame into a non-religious context of love that raised it to a higher level of conflict with the early Christian idealization of humility.¹⁴ By the time of the mid-fourteenth century where we end this current study the pursuit of fame would achieve new literary levels with the works of Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch and Chaucer. However, the paradox of that quest was certainly not lost. If anything, it personified the dilemma of the new medieval public culture.

This juxtaposition perplexed the practitioners of the law as well.¹⁵ In both the medieval ecclesiastical and secular courts words could be cause for various forms of action. With the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 Innocent III ended the practice of the ordeal to determine justice. The Council also formalized the process of inquisition wherein one’s reputation played a key role in separating out *rumor*, *clamosa insinuatō*, *vox communis* and *communis opinio*, which became the common vocabulary developed to designate the omnipresent voices of the *populus* called to witness potential heresy.¹⁶ The publicness of the ordeal was subject to loss of control by the clergy due to the fickleness of public opinion, whereas the testimony of “common opinion” taken into the private inquisitional process enabled local ecclesiastics to manipulate all ends of the procedure.¹⁷ Control of public speech via other processes was also important. The Council

¹² Fama, ed. Fenster and Smail (2003), 1.

¹³ For this overview, see Boitani, *Chaucer and the Imaginary World of Fame* (1984), 29–31.

¹⁴ Boitani, *Chaucer and the Imaginary World of Fame* (1984), 57.

¹⁵ The bibliography has grown substantially, but a sampling of the international scholarly interest can be seen in Landau, *Die Entstehung des kanonischen Infamiebegriffs* (1966); Migliorino, *Fama e infamia* (1985); Fraher, “Conviction According to Conscience” (1989); Porteau-Bitker and Talazac-Laurent, “La renommée dans le droit pénal laïque” (1993); and Peters, “Wounded Names” (1990).

¹⁶ Théry, “‘Fama:’ l’opinion publique comme preuve judiciaire” (2003), esp. 121–23; Fraher, “IV Lateran’s Revolution in Criminal Procedure” (1992).

¹⁷ See the comments of Moore, *The First European Revolution* (2000), 165–68, on the Church’s pursuit of monopoly of the public sphere with such changes as this.

of Oxford in the province of Canterbury in 1222, for example, declared: “We excommunicate all those who, for the sake of hatred, profit, or favor, or for whatever cause, maliciously impute a crime to any person who is not of ill fame among good and serious men.”¹⁸

Evidence of the enhanced role of *fama* and *infamia* in public life is provided in this constitution of Oxford, but Oxford was not alone. By the late fourteenth century in Canterbury nearly ten per cent of cases heard in its Commissary Court dealt with defamation, and similar numbers were reported in Rochester, Hereford and Lichfield, while the diocese of York adopted a similar version of the Oxford declaration. This may not appear large, but there is further evidence that many more defamation cases were settled out of court, further indicating that the issue of *infamia* was taken very seriously and needed resolution.¹⁹ The Oxford constitution, which became the model for ecclesiastical courts and eventually part of the English common law of defamation, had determined what words were actionable in the English church courts. Specifically a crime had to have been publicly imputed. For example, having called someone a thief, a heretic, an adulterer, or a forger made the case subject to court action, but not common insults.²⁰ The royal courts tried to separate the functions by claiming responsibility for ruling on allegations such as theft and homicide, that is non-spiritual crimes such as heresy and adultery, but the ecclesiastical courts apparently paid no attention, and this laid the groundwork for possible double jeopardy if a canonical action was brought against an individual accused of a crime in royal courts.²¹ In all such cases, the extent to which a person’s reputation could play a role in the courts was becoming more prominent. Regarding the process of canonical purgation, Richard Helmholz has concluded that:

Publicity was essential at every stage of the proceedings. There was the initial requirement of public fame. There was the open proclamation providing for possible objections. And there was purgation itself, made solemnly before one’s neighbors [...]. The proceedings

18 “Excommunicamus omnes illos who gratia odii, lucre, vel favoris, vel alia quacunque de causa malitiose crimen imponunt alicui, cum infamatus non sit apud bonos et graves,” from *Councils and Synods*, ed. Powicke and Cheney (1964), I: 107, as cited in Helmholz, “Canonical Defamation in Medieval England” (1971), 256, trans. his.

19 Helmholz, “Canonical Defamation” (1971), 267. Also, see Livingston, “*Infamia* in the Decretists” (1962); re. *fama*, Fraher, “Conviction According to Conscience” (1989), 32–40; Helmholz, “The Early History of the Grand Jury and the Canon Law” (1983), esp. 617, regarding common fame and the publicness of secular and canon law. Also, see regional case studies by Jesús Telechea, “*Fama publica*,” (2007); and Smail, “Witness Programs in Medieval Marseille” (2006).

20 Helmholz, “Canonical Defamation” (1971), 256–58.

21 Helmholz, “Canonical Defamation” (1971), 260.

were public not just as a guarantee against legal impropriety, but also as a way of ending the public rumor that someone had committed a crime.²²

The sentence of excommunication to punish offenders found guilty of a public crime clarifies further how important public shame was becoming as a possible deterrent. Usually the complainant in such cases was satisfied with this punishment. Church courts dealt with local matters and in small communities the shame was powerful. Local gossip spread the word and sometimes there was an added public declaration by the guilty party that he/she would not commit the offense again. This applied as well to those who had made wrongful allegations that the courts had not upheld.²³ *Fama* was a slippery term in the medieval lexicon. Ranging from rumor and idle talk to reputation, memory, and glory or infamy, it also “intersected with a number of other terms, such as honor, shame, status, and witnessing.”²⁴ Thus, in essence *fama* meant public opinion.²⁵

Quid est fama? (What is fame?) In the courts this question was asked of witnesses, to which some were recorded to say: “It’s the things that people say,” or “It’s the public voice and fame,” while more elaborately, “It is that which is commonly said among people about any business or fact.” It could be measured as well, as witnesses reported that a range from three to forty “say these things,” or there was *magna fama* (great deal of talking) going on.²⁶ Today we would exclude such evidence as hearsay, but the medieval legal systems across Europe did not. Medieval courts generally used written proofs, but if these were not available local knowledge was accepted. The stronger case could be made if that local knowledge was *per visum* (direct witness) instead of *per auditum* (hearsay) evidence it was the best alternative. But *publica fama* (“what everybody knew”) was almost as highly regarded as direct

22 Helmholz, “Compurgation and the Courts” (1983), 21.

23 Helmholz, “Canonical Defamation” (1971), 266.

24 *Fama*, ed. Fenster and Smail (2003), 2; Théry, “Fama” (2003), 123–26. The study of medieval rumor in particular is advancing in several directions, including how Galbert of Bruges and Gautier de Théroutanne used it in their accounts of the assassination of Charles, Count of Flanders; its use in Romance poetry or in attempts to discredit bishops or undermine royal power; its application in government administration, and in the cults of saint; as well as whether it might have been used to develop a Habermasian “public space” in the thirteenth century. For these case studies, see *La rumeur au Moyen Âge*, ed. Billoré and Soria (2011). For a study of the way rumor and “news” linked citizens to the council of the city of Toulouse and the city itself to its wider public, see Nadrigny, *Information et opinion publique à Toulouse* (2013).

25 For further discussion of rumor and public opinion see Hans-Joachim Neubauer, *The Rumour* (1999), 37.

26 *Fama*, ed. Fenster and Smail (2003), 2.

witness.²⁷ By the thirteenth century the force of common opinion was accepted and even given meanings applicable in the courts, a “veritable jurisprudence of *fama*, expressed both in statute law and juristic treatises.”²⁸ Public talk was *fama*; it was dynamic as it assessed the reputation of an individual, the reputation that was crucial in the courts. Thus, one had to be careful in public. Good reputation meant one had to pay attention to dress, demeanor, and, of course, speech in order to manage public perception.

In thirteenth-century France the complexity of society demanded written rules (customaries) for settling differences in the growing mercantile economy.²⁹ Among the aspects of behavior addressed one finds reputation, notoriety and the use of witnesses. Although the word *fama* (or *fame* in Old French) is not found, *noire* (well-known), *renommée* (reputation), *disfame* (bad reputation), *maldichs* (badly spoken of), and *malrenomé* (with a bad reputation) were in the lexicon. For those functioning in the courts the jurist Philippe de Beaumanoir (Philippe de Rémi, 1247–1296) provided guidance regarding the importance of *bonne renommée* in his *Coustumes de Beauvoisis* (1283). First of all, anyone who substitutes for a judge must be of good reputation. A person of bad reputation cannot be a custodian for a minor child. On the other hand a good reputation could facilitate one’s success in a lawsuit, while a person of *mal renomés* could not sue anyone for fraud. In Agen the publicness of a bad reputation was underlined for those convicted of false testimony; they were led through town with trumpets blaring and a metal skewer puncturing the tongue. After that they could not be trusted in any public matter.³⁰

The persistence of the importance of *publica fama* meaning “common knowledge” in the courts is illustrated by several studies of Italian courts. Since the time of compurgation, the community had been a source of both information and law in the form of custom, and it continued to be used as information and proof in the period from thirteenth to the fifteenth century.³¹ In 1270 the

27 See the analysis applied in medieval Tuscany by Wickham, “Gossip and Resistance among the Medieval Peasantry” (1998).

28 Wickham, “Gossip and Resistance among the Medieval Peasantry” (1998), 3. For examples in twelfth-century Tuscany, Renaissance Florence, France and Spain, see essays by Wickham, Kuehn, Akehurst and Bowman in *Fama*, ed. Fenster and Smail (2003). For a more extensive analysis, see Migliorino, *Fama e infamia* (1985).

29 For what follows in this paragraph, see Akehurst, “Good Name, Reputation, and Notoriety” (2003).

30 Akehurst, “Good Name, Reputation, and Notoriety” (2003), 81.

31 Stern, “Public Fame in the Fifteenth Century” (2000), 207.

public identification of people of bad fame was made mandatory in Venice, whereas anyone who had been banned from the city for *infamia*, that is having been convicted of a crime, but was caught not leaving could be branded on the forehead. *Publica fama* was used as a “quasi-technical legal term, in numerous court cases and arbitrations, starting in the 1130s and continuing well beyond,” as far as the fifteenth century in Florence.³² It was used alongside eyewitness (*per visum*) and hearsay (*per auditum*) testimony, though it was considered less reliable than the former and more so than the latter. In Tuscany the term *publica fama* was more often found in courts where witnesses would respond that what they attested to was “what all say publicly (*id quod omnes publice dicunt*)” or “what the majority of men say (*id quod a maiori parte hominum dicitur*).” What is important is that there was trust in what was being said publicly. Wickham sums it up—the public sphere had become a place where “‘truth’ was created” and accepted in the law.³³ This did not mean that the public *fama* of an individual always went uncontested. Talk did not run the straight and narrow, and importantly for this study, it was being often contested in public. As the medieval world matured into its newest urban iteration, despite its transactional nature, talk was accepted in the courts.

Even though accepted, *fama* was only one basis of proof in the courts. Kuehn, in his study of its legal status in Florence, calls our attention to the work of the anthropologist Clifford Geertz who argues that law is “constructive” and that “legal facts are made not born.”³⁴ The medieval courts treated *fama* as non-professional, meaning that its source being public opinion its testimony was not sufficient to condemn a person, but it could lead to a “presumption of guilt.”³⁵ *Fama* was effective in courts because it had been determined by the behavior of the individual witnesses in the streets. By the fourteenth century it had evolved so far that the merchant-moralist Paolo da Certaldo of Florence declared “It is better for a man to have good *fama* in this world than to have great wealth.”³⁶ Thus, it is not so surprising that *publica fama* was allowed the status of being able both to initiate judicial proceedings and to be used as evidence in

32 Wickham, “*Fama* and the Law in Twelfth-Century Tuscany” (2003), 16. Also, see Wickham, “Gossip and Resistance among the Medieval Peasantry” (1998). For Florence, see Kuehn, “*Fama* as a Legal Status in Renaissance Florence” (2003).

33 Wickham, “*Fama* and the Law” (2003), 17 and 19.

34 Geertz, “Local Knowledge (1983), 173 and 218; Kuehn, “*Fama* as a Legal Status” (2003), 29.

35 Migliorino, *Fama e infamia* (1985), 54.

36 Da Certado, *Il libro di buoni costume* (1986), 13, as cited and translated by Kuehn, “*Fama* as a Legal Status” (2003), 32.

them. In addition to the *fama* of the accused and the witnesses in various cases, it affected officials in the courts, and it questioned the legitimacy of births affecting matters of property and filiation. Social practices had come to influence norms and practices in the legal system, a very public sphere.³⁷

Fama and its opposite *infamia* were always vague terms in the law. As inherited from the Roman tradition, Isidore of Seville noted in the seventh century that

He who is convicted of any crime is considered ignominious, since he has lost the *nomen* of honesty [...]. Thus also in the case of *infamium*, as if without good reputation (*bona fama*). *Fama* is so-called *fando* (that is, by speaking), since it creeps like a serpent through tongues and ears. It is a term that designates both good and bad things. [...] *Fama* does not have a certain name, because it is deceptive, it exaggerates many things, or makes them less than truth; it lives only as long as it proves nothing.³⁸

But by the time of Gratian (d. 1159) the vagueness of infamy had narrowed to two legal pathways. On the one hand, there was the kind similar to the Roman legal tradition with connotations of crime. The other was closer to that of general reputation based on popular opinion, and could involve scandal and notoriety based on violations of conscience and subject more to scrutiny in ecclesiastical courts.³⁹ In his *Decretum* we find no less than fifteen categories of infamy, ranging from the offenses against the Church (e.g., heretics; thieves of church property; those writing satires of clergy, or disobeying them) to crimes which cut across secular and ecclesiastical boundaries (e.g., murder, adultery, or false witness).⁴⁰ Regardless of the nature of the “crime” the result of infamy was separation from access to the court systems, ecclesiastical or secular. In the reform measures of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there was developed a program of deterrence meant to reduce clerical crime and prevent the laity from abusing the process of accusations against the clergy. In pursuing this objective, two doctrines were developed: first, punishment of crime is a matter of *public interest*; and second, failure to punish creates “an audacity of impunity” which only serves to make matters worse. Innocent III allowed reputation to play a much more significant role in developing the inquisition in the thirteenth century, even “recognizing notoriety as a sufficient, if merely presumptive proof based

³⁷ Kuehn, “*Fama* as a Legal Status” (2003), 35 and 38–45.

³⁸ *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri* II. (1911), ed. Lindsay, I.V.27, 25–27, as cited in Peters, “Wounded Names” (1990), 45. I follow the overview provided by Peters of the evolution of the terms, as well as their legal and social connotations in Roman and canon law into the twelfth century.

³⁹ Peters, “Wounded Names” (1990), 66–67.

⁴⁰ Peters, “Wounded Names” (1990), 68.

upon external evidence.”⁴¹ In effect a medieval doctrine of *infamia* had been hammered together with pieces from Roman law, Pseudo-Isidore, and various commentaries on Gratian’s *Decretum* well before Innocent “greatly extended the role of *fama* in its insistence upon investigation of accused heretics’ reputations, character, and beliefs.”⁴² The Church was ahead of the secular courts in this regard, but both spiritual and temporal courts implemented its use in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries accompanied by the development of procedural manuals. By the end of the thirteenth century “all courts had to address the problem of the source of evidence about a crime, as well as defendants or witnesses with a bad name.”⁴³

***Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur* and a Medieval Theory of Consent**

Whereas the doctrine of *infamia* and the role of *fama* in the medieval courts are relatively easy to discern, this is not so with another maxim from Roman law that seems basic to the evolution of the public. The possible implications of *Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur* (What touches all should have the approval of all; hereafter QOT) have fascinated scholars since Haskins called attention to the role of jurisprudence in the renaissance of the twelfth century in 1927.⁴⁴ Gaines Post was prominent among the earliest to try to decipher its meaning in the context of the evolution of representative government in England.⁴⁵ To begin with he pointed out that the introduction of the maxim came in the context of private laws governing property rights which led medieval commentators on Roman law to draw upon the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, especially C. 5. 59. 5. 2, and related passages in *Inst.* 2. 1. 40 and *D.* 39. 3. 8. and 9. At issue was the principle of common consent in defense of joint rights in court. If a suit impacted “co-tutores

⁴¹ Fraher, “Preventing Crime in the High Middle Ages” (1989), 225.

⁴² Peters, “Wounded Names” (1990), 80.

⁴³ Peters, “Wounded Names” (1990), 80–81.

⁴⁴ Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (1927). There are a number of variants of the Latin version of the maxim. In the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (Codex 5. 59. 5. 2), for example, one finds *Quod omnes similiter tangit ab omnibus comprobetur*. See a brief review of variants by Marongiu, *Medieval Parliaments* (1968), 34.

⁴⁵ See the collection of his earlier published related articles in Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought* (1964), esp. ch. IV: “A Romano-Canonical Maxim, *Quod omnes tangit*, in Bracton and in Early Parliaments,” 163–238. Also, see the useful review by Ralph Giesey of Post’s work collected in *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought*, in *Yale Law Journal* 75 (1966): 1064–75.

in common, all must be summoned.”⁴⁶ When several person had joint rights, such as over common fields, and a change was being sought to that use (e.g., water or easement rights), their consent was necessary. In the thirteenth century Bracton (d. 1268) applied QOT or the related parts of the *Corpus* differently. He likely referred to the *Institutes* in discussing natural law justification of property rights, but because Bracton was more interested in judicial process than theory, he called upon QOT most when property rights were being challenged and had to be settled in court.⁴⁷

Although Bracton did not evidence much interest in how QOT might move from the realm of private law to that of public affairs, he did open up the possibility when he discussed the Provisions of Merton. Therein, we find a suggestion that QOT might apply in association with the common good of the kingdom as a whole. In his theory that laws can be changed only through consultation with and consent by those who had originally consented to them, the door to a wider public is ajar, but he did not directly cite QOT as applicable.⁴⁸ However, insofar as something like a national tax was at stake in the public realm, it seems that QOT did apply, even though it might not have been directly invoked.

There are several ways that the medieval legists looked at QOT and argued over whether one should put the emphasis on the summons of “all” (i.e., “all who are touched are to be called”) or on the consent (i.e., “it is necessary to have the consent of all those whom the matter touches”). This issue concerned not only the lay lawyers, for QOT was found to be operational in the legal practices of ecclesiastical courts and in the procedures of synods and councils. Problems of interpretation of representation and consent present themselves in discussing QOT within the ecclesiastical world because of an ambiguity regarding the nature and locus of “power” within the ecclesiastical hierarchy itself. In the *Decretum*, for example, Gratian made it clear that there was a role for “people,” meaning the laity, in the case of the elections of bishops. All members of the Christian community had roles to play—the clergy (canons, cathedral and monastic clergy), the nobility, the ministers and the ordinary laity. However, their roles were distinct; the clergy were to elect, the faithful lay people (noble

⁴⁶ Post, “A Romano-Canonical Maxim” (1964), 169.

⁴⁷ Post, “A Romano-Canonical Maxim” (1964), 225.

⁴⁸ Post, “A Romano-Canonical Maxim” (1964), 230. However, Riesenbergh, *Inalienability of Sovereignty* (1956), 35, concluded that “Bracton intended the principle to play a like role in public affairs,” to the extent that one must not alienate royal functions that affect the public welfare.

and non-noble) were to consent.⁴⁹ But the process of obtaining that “consent” lays moot, especially from among the non-noble laity.

In dealing with the evolution of the public sphere our concern focuses more on who was included in the medieval “*omnes*.” If the revival of Roman law provided a principle of agency by empowered representatives of communities, how did they gain a sense of what they were to represent? Post provided a partial answer:

Consent according to the Roman law was not a democratic concession of the sovereign will of the people [...] it was a procedural kind of consent [...] and it was, although based on the lawful rights of the individuals represented, finally subject to the decision of the king in his capacity of supreme public authority of the realm.⁵⁰

So how does this provide agency to the “will of the people,” and how does the public make its will known?

The initiative for implementation of *Quod omnes tangit* in the later Middle Ages came from the top down within the clerical community. Bernard of Clairvaux in the twelfth century, for example, advised on the canonical issue of the election of the archbishop of York that those affected by the election should be consulted. Once the papacy acquired greater power in the process of ecclesiastical reform, the canonists began to fear papal despotism and sought to achieve more of a balance of power through delegated authority in councils. They seized upon a text of Gregory I that had been incorporated into the *Decretum* (Dist. 15 c. 2) which declared that canons of the earliest General Councils should always be preserved inviolate because they had been determined by “universal consensus” (*universali consensu*). Building their glosses on the text they embellished it with reference to “What touches all should be approved by all” and similar phrases. They also used QOT to defend the right of laymen to attend General Councils.⁵¹ Gratian had affirmed the principle as did several popes of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. As the papacy reached its height of central

⁴⁹ Benson, *The Bishop-Elect* (1968), 27. Tierney, *Religion, Law, and the Growth of Constitutional Thought* (1982), elaborated further on how QOT was applied by the canonists to the doctrine of consent in ecclesiastical matters. Also, see Quillet, “Community, Counsel and Representation” (1988), 555.

⁵⁰ Post, “A Romano-Canonical Maxim” (1964), 163–64.

⁵¹ Tierney, “Medieval Canon Law and Western Constitutionalism” (1966), 11. Also, see a more extensive treatment of the Decretist theories on church government in his *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory* (1955).

control under Innocent III at Lateran IV in 1215, QOT was applied specifically to the question of who could participate in ecclesiastical councils and synods.⁵²

In Lateran IV the assembly came to confront the contradiction between the “rule of unanimity” implicit in QOT and the “rule of the majority” that many believed was the binding custom. Quillet argues that the very basic concept of community was at stake if one conceded to the unanimist point of view. If representation means that a small number can act for and on behalf of the majority because they have been delegated authority to act, actions taken in such assemblies boil down to whether the electors are *boni viri* in the broadest sense, and to what procedures they will follow in defining and expressing the collective will of the “people.”⁵³

The adoption of the principle implicit in QOT began making significant strides in the secular realm in the early thirteenth century as well. In 1226, in response to the papal bull *Supra muros Jerusalem* issued by Honorius III in 1225 that called for the reform of papal finances and an international tax on the clergy to fund it, King Henry III summoned two assemblies to seek counsel on the matter using the maxim QOT to bring the delegates together. The king, upon receiving the copy of the bull reportedly had responded “that he alone should not define such things that in general are the business that touches all the clergy and the laity”⁵⁴ In invoking the maxim there is no mention of the need for approval “by all,” but merely the mandate to call together those affected, and in this case it especially mentions that both the clergy and the laity should be involved. We see QOT, a maxim of Roman private law, becoming part of the domain of public law and, according to several scholars, being ultimately transformed into a “quasi-constitutional principle.”⁵⁵ Edwin Hall deals more fully with the question of “who is touched.” In the case of who came to the assemblies regarding *Supra muros* there is conflicting evidence and confusion. In the first assembly of January 1226, it appears that only the clergy came, especially since the king was ill

52 Congar, “*Quod omnes tangit*” (1958). Hereafter, cited as Congar, “QOT.” On the dispute among modern historians as to whether Gratian wanted to diminish or even eliminate the role of the lay people in ecclesiastical elections, see Chodorow, *Christian Political Theory* (1972), 200–210.

53 Quillet, “Community, Counsel and Representation” (1988), 555–56.

54 Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum* (1889), II, 289: “quod solus non potuit diffinere, nec debuit, negotium quod omnes clericos et laicos generaliter totius tangebatur”; as cited in Hall, “King Henry III and the English Reception” (1972), 130.

55 Hall, “King Henry III and the English Reception” (1972), 131 and 133, citing as examples Post, “A Romano-Canonical Maxim” (1964), 167 and 237; and Congar, “QOT” (1958), 215, 233 and 236.

and could not attend; thus the assembly was postponed. When the second assembly convened in May of that year, however, it included both clerical and lay representatives. According to Hall's argument, the "negative response to the papal request [for taxation of the clergy] that was adopted was drafted by the king meeting with certain prelates and lay magnates."⁵⁶ The notion that in cases of taxation pre-counsel was necessary was also a key theme in the history of early fourteenth-century France. The issue focused on two aspects: the demonstrated need and the amount needed. In the realm of Philip IV, Peter of Auvergne declared that if there was no emergency, then the citizens need not pay; and Pierre Dubois wrote condemning the claim of expediency when asking for more than was needed.⁵⁷

Important for this study is the adoption of the principle of consultation on matters that affect the public broadly. The question of who actually came to these assemblies, or others that were convening across Europe in different forms by the early thirteenth century, is not so critical as the fact that assemblies were being held, the matter of the "common good" was being recognized openly and publicly, and the principle that the *populus*, no matter how vaguely defined, should be assembled when issues of state could affect them was being widely adopted. Not only did this apply in the Church councils and the secular parliaments of England and France, but also in the Italian communes of Florence and Bologna of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and in Portugal in the late fourteenth.⁵⁸ Raising of the consciousness of the potential value of the lay public in "matters of state" did not yet project into direct involvement of the common man, but the seeds were being planted that eventually flowered in the creation of forms of representation of the "all" in matters that touched them. Although the maxim QOT had only applied to wards and guardians in Roman law, it had come to support "a theory of consent that was a basic element of corporate theory and representative government" in the later Middle Ages.⁵⁹

Theories of Representation

Inherent in the study of political representation from a modern perspective seems to be the question of whether one is considering some form of "populism." Recognizing this, Brian Tierney developed a usage of the word "to desig-

⁵⁶ Hall, "King Henry III and the English Reception" (1972), 142.

⁵⁷ Dunbabin, "Government," *CHMPT* (1988), 512–13.

⁵⁸ Marongiu, *Medieval Parliaments* (1968), 35–37.

⁵⁹ Dunbabin, "Government," *CHMPT* (1988), 440 and 449.

nate the theory that sovereignty always resides inalienably in the *populus*, the whole people, even after the institution of a government.”⁶⁰ He argues that this “sentiment was nourished” by actual communal experience in the developing cities, especially in Italy, but also from the teaching of the canon lawyers, who were arguing that the Church as the “congregation of the faithful, was always superior to any of its ministers.”⁶¹ Among those legal theorists, Hugolinus, asserted that the emperor was only acting on behalf of the people, so even after his election they retained their intrinsic authority. Similarly, Azo stated that “the people *conceded* power, they did not *transfer* it” to the degree of total alienation.⁶² These nuanced assertions still present an obvious paradox: how can a ruler be set above his people and still be subject to them? It is with this in mind that we examine later medieval concepts of representation.

Some historians have referred to the changes in political life in England, first initiated in the twelfth century and continuing at a steady pace into the middle of the fourteenth century, as a “political revolution.”⁶³ Beginning with an expansion of the central government which “threatened to destroy the political interest of the community” Englishmen began to see the need for a new way to define “State interests.”⁶⁴ The response to the need came in two forms: (1) a “new habit of political thinking”; and, (2) the development of a “new political instrument.” Wilkinson’s early framing of the issues has been contested over the years, but those after him have more or less agreed that the issues were real and the political instrument of parliament had come to be seen as the best way to respond to the question of how the affirmation of the “all” could best be determined. In the process of developing *the communitas Anglie* as a “self-conscious body with a national outlook and a national inclusiveness,”⁶⁵ the contest of king and feudal realm led to various conflicts and early compromises over represen-

⁶⁰ Tierney, *Religion, Law, and the Growth of Constitutional Thought* (1982), 56.

⁶¹ Tierney, *Religion, Law, and the Growth of Constitutional Thought* (1982), 56.

⁶² Tierney, *Religion, Law, and the Growth of Constitutional Thought* (1982), 57; emphasis his.

⁶³ See, for example, Wilkinson, “The ‘Political Revolution’” (1949). McFarlane and others focus on a social history approach to deconstruct the earlier nineteenth-century tradition of historical interpretation established by Stubbs and Tout who saw English politics as the evolution of a constitutional battle. More recently, historians such as Given-Wilson, Harriss, Fryde and Ormrod have focused on the studies of particular political institutions rather than a grand overview. For a summary of these developments, see Waugh, “England: Kingship and the Political Community” (2003).

⁶⁴ Early examination of this set of changes is found in Post, “*Plena Potestas* and Consent” (1943).

⁶⁵ Wilkinson, “The ‘Political Revolution’” (1949), 502.

tation leading to Magna Carta and the Barons War of 1265–68 that contributed to the shaping of parliament as a representative body.

The ultimate compromise of the parliament evolving from a king's council to a meaningful representative assembly by the end of the fourteenth century was based on the principle of a partnership of sorts between the "people" and the king. The nature of the partnership was established to a large degree by the early fourteenth century treatise known as the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum* which defined parliament as "an assembly which comprises the King, the Lords and the representative of the various communities." Most importantly for the evolution of the public in its political role is the explicit statement in the *Modus* that there can be no "parliament" without the presence of the king and the lay representatives. The *Modus* presented the construct of parliament as being composed of three orders, consisting of the representatives (proctors) of the clergy, the knights of shires, and the "citizens and burgesses" who represent the whole community, but not the magnates, who only represent themselves. In this view, the magnates could be absent and parliament could still conduct its business so long as the king was present.⁶⁶

More recent studies underline two aspects of this transformation. First, the king recognized that the business of state could be conducted within feudal custom by asking for counsel only with court officials or in matters of greater significance, a group of those barons most affected by the decisions. Although the par-

⁶⁶ *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum* XXIII: "et propter aliquas certas causas venire nollent, ut si pretenderent quod rex non regeret eos sicuti deberet, et assignarent specialter in quibus articulis eos disrexerat, tunc Parliamentum nullum esset omnino, licet omnes archiepiscopi, episcopi, comites, barones et omnes eorum pares, cum rege interessent; et ideo oportet quod omnia que affirmari vel infirmari, concedi vel negari, vel fieri debent per Parliamentum, per communitatem Parliamenti concedi debent, que est ex tribus gradibus sive generibus Parliamenti, scilicet ex procuratoribus cleri, multibus comitatuum, civibus et burgensibus, qui representant totam communitatem Anglie, et non de magnatibus, quia quilibet eorum est pro su propria peronsa ad Parliamentum et pro nulla alia." The English translation by Pronay and Taylor is as follows: "if, for example, they argue that the King does not govern them as he should, and mention particular matters in which he has not ruled correctly, then there would be NO PARLIAMENT AT ALL, even though all the archbishops, bishops, earls and barons, and all their peers were present with the King, and therefore it is necessary that all matters which ought to be confirmed or annulled, granted, denied, or done by parliament, which is composed of three grades or orders of parliament, that is to say the proctors of the clergy, the knights of the shire, the citizens and burgesses WHO REPRESENT the WHOLE COMMUNITY of ENGLAND, and NOT the MAGNATES because EACH OF THESE is AT PARLIAMENT for HIS OWN INDIVIDUAL PERSON and FOR NO ONE ELSE" (emphasis mine). Pronay and Taylor, *Parliamentary Texts of the Later Middle Ages* (1980), Recension A, 77; a Latin text and English translation of both Recensions A and B of the treatise are found on 66–114.

liament of England was a court, it brought together “peers and communities for deliberation on affairs of the king and the kingdom.”⁶⁷ Marongiu has argued that this type of activity is essential for “true parliaments,” that is a “self-consciousness of the approach toward public affairs of those most concerned,” a place to discuss matters brought before the members.⁶⁸ With the ever-growing demand for funds to support centralizing monarchies the need for a broader-based council (i.e., a parliamentary assembly) that recognized the growing popularity of the principle of *Quod omnes tangit*, and represented more of those affected, became more clear. This brought to bear the second aspect of the justification—a representative parliament could offer counsel, hear petitions that would sample the complaints of the community and will of the people, and provide consent, a corporate consent that personified the community and made it “simpler for the sovereign, and offered the subjects a greater defense against unjustified demands.” Moreover, to convene a parliament offered a new symbol of the unity of the state, or as Marongiu summed it up: “To convoke parliament meant to convoke the kingdom, or *all* the population.”⁶⁹

In order to be effective in such assemblies Bisson has argued that representatives had to evolve a culture that had its roots in assemblies of the lords first known within tribes, then in “assemblies of lordly festivity,” and eventually in parliaments. He saw this rightfully so as a complex process modeled early on in the Peace assemblies wherein a “celebratory mode of persuasion” forced knights to conform to their vows, and in the traditions of conciliar legislation that were promulgated with high ceremony in Catalonia.⁷⁰ Important to remember for this study, of course, is the fact that these were public assemblies concerned with public issues.

In the late-thirteenth and early fourteenth century the parliament played a significant role in the business of the state with the review of petitions in particular under Edward I. These petitions were not publicly circulated for signatures or even printed documents. Instead they derived moral force from the “hieratic principle that justice and grace flowed down, from God, through the institution of monarchy.”⁷¹ In England in the 1320s the agenda for legislation exhibited “a growing obsession with the magnates’ abuse of power.”⁷² The significance of this

67 Bisson, “Celebration and Persuasion” (1982).

68 Marongiu, *Medieval Parliaments* (1968), 46. Quote is Bisson’s summary in “Celebration and Persuasion,” (1982), 182.

69 Marongiu, *Medieval Parliaments* (1968), 223.

70 Bisson, “Celebration and Persuasion” (1982), 183–85.

71 Ormrod, “Medieval Petitions in Context” (2009), 2.

72 Ormrod, “Agenda for Legislation” (1990), 19.

change is found in the fact that the Lords had lost their monopoly over the petitions, and that the common petitions were now representing a wider range of the public concerns. A similar principle seems to apply in diplomatic correspondence from the English royal chancery and from thousands of petitions from a broad cross-section of the public to the popes at Avignon in the early fourteenth century. Supplications (*littere deprecatoirie*) sought direct “dispensation of the grace or justice that lay within the authority of papacy.”⁷³

Perhaps guided by the hope for grace and justice, petitions became the basis for later statutory legislation in England. Petitions were of two forms—private and “common”—each presenting a plea for favor from the king. Though the lines of distinction were often hard to draw, the private petition generally came from an individual and asked the king for settlement on a matter of property, while the “common” petition generally presented some form of grievance related to general taxation, corruption, or abuse of public office that affected a wider segment of the community.⁷⁴ A recent study of the issues raised in petitions has established six categories, from requests for royal grants of property, privilege, or pardon to injuries to a private party and for “the remedy of wrongs committed by others of the king’s subjects.”⁷⁵ In the wake of widespread discontent within the realm in 1339 leading to the “crisis of 1340,” it has been argued that one of the significant outcomes was the “political emergence of the Commons.”⁷⁶ In this instance Archbishop Stratford joined with the Commons in defense of mutual interests, as expressed in specific demands stated in common petitions, to secure from the king, among other outcomes, the exclusive right of Commons to grant a subsidy.

In the period after 1322, the knights and burgesses in Parliament developed their voice and began to speak for the “community of the realm.” Moreover, it became the presumption that legislation would have to be ratified by Parliament after a process of discussion and assent by the “prelates, earls, and barons, and the community of the realm.”⁷⁷ The emerging voice of the commons (*vox communis*) as being the Commons as a viable separate entity within parliament was per-

73 Ormrod, “Agenda for Legislation” (1990), 6. This argument is developed further in Bombi, “Petitioning between England and Avignon” (2009); also, see Patrick Zutshi, “Petitions to the Pope” (2009).

74 Ormrod, “Murmur, Clamour, and Noise” (2009), 136. For further discussion of the contested nature of what made a petition “common,” see Dodd, *Justice and Grace* (2007), 127–28.

75 Brand, “Understanding Early Petitions” (2009).

76 Harriss, “The Commons’ Petitions of 1340” (1963); and Harriss, *King, Parliament, and Public Finance* (1975), 123 and 127.

77 Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance* (1975), 4.

haps made most clear rather ironically when the barons decided to depose Edward II in 1327.⁷⁸ The king had not ruled wisely and had made many concessions in an attempt to undermine the noble peers who opposed him. The peers now became hereditary members of parliament, and the Statute of York (1322) granted that the administration of good government required proper consultation with parliament. Furthermore, the distinction was made more clear between barons and the “commonality.” At this point, on paper at least, the Commons was recognized as the “voice of *communitas regni* in matters of public import.”⁷⁹ This paper power was applied in practice when Edward was deposed, and the barons called a meeting of parliament in which elected members came from class estates, regional communities, the clergy and the city of London. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter Reynolds detailed a list of complaints, and then, “because of this the people agree and cried out that he should no longer reign.”⁸⁰ Though Edward only later finally recognized his dethronement, “most chronicles record the tumultuous events of the parliament as the effective deposition, one achieved ‘with the whole commonalty of the land’ and ‘by common assent of all.’”⁸¹

Even though there were significant amounts of dissent on the action against Edward, this claim that “all the people” were represented was being staked widely. As Giancarlo notes, the Archbishop of Canterbury “preached on the ‘text’ *vox populi vox Dei*,” and asked his audience whether they assented to the removal of the king, to which “the whole community, with unanimous consent and raised hands so they were extended forward, cried, ‘Let it be! Let it be! Amen.’”⁸² Apparently he was not alone, as sermons were preached throughout the realm to validate the actions of “the people,” and the final stamp of the Commons was given during the formal ceremony of renunciation. The speaker for this assembly was William Russell, a non-noble judge selected from the commons, not an elected member of parliament, but one selected to speak for the entire parliament, and who thus “served to reinforce the position of the Commons-in-parliament

⁷⁸ For what follows see, Matthew Giancarlo, *Parliament and Literature* (2007), 56–60.

⁷⁹ Giancarlo, *Parliament and Literature* (2007), 58.

⁸⁰ *Anonimale Chronicle*, 1307–34, 132–3: “par quei le people graunta et cria ne deveroit plus reigner,” as cited in Giancarlo, *Parliament and Literature* (2007), 58, n. 97.

⁸¹ Sources cited by Giancarlo, *Parliament and Literature* (2007), 59, n. 98, include the Pipewell Chronicle and the Lichfield Chronicle, which noted that the deposition was proposed “in the assembly at the unanimous and persistent clamor of all of the people” (*ad clamorem tocius populi unanimiter in ipso clamore perseverantis*) (184).

⁸² Giancarlo, *Parliament and Literature* (2007), 59. Also, see Boureau, “L’adage *vox populi, vox Dei*” (1992).

as the authoritative voice of the community.”⁸³ Here the *vox populi* was being called upon, and had departed from its more deliberative voice being expressed in petitions, to play an active and emotional, but non-violent role, in the public sphere to ratify an action perceived as being for the common good.

The role of petitions in representing the feelings of injustice as a kind of “national, or common opinion” that erupted after 1350 more regularly into violent protest in England, France and Castile had a volatile history.⁸⁴ In the reign of Edward I, who encouraged petitions, even if they were serving his political interests, we can see a real attempt to address grievances that affected widespread interests that could be defined as the public good. This was in contrast with the reign of Edward II, who was apparently not interested in responding to them, and the large number of petitions suggests a failure of law and order.⁸⁵ However, it appears that the political program of the Commons elevated during the reign of Edward II was carried forward into the reign of Edward III, who had to deal with it in order to “placate the disaffected political community.”⁸⁶

In England, the long-term outcome was that the “noise” of the general public became louder. Parliament received more petitions being drafted by the members themselves as directed by the communities they represented, and then sitting to hear matters that affected the “common weal.”⁸⁷ Some believe, however, that by mid-fourteenth century the idea of this “noise” as representation of the community within the Commons began to shift from a sense of a genuine inclusive political program that took account of the peasant interests to one that became more limited to a narrow representation of only the propertied class interests. Therefore, it is argued that it was not until about 1500, partly as a result of the influence of the Hundred Years’ War on the development of a more cohesive political community, that “national” opinion overcame local or sectional and was again truly represented in the Commons.

Although parliament generally served the interests of the king, the barons, and the Commons, the elite still exercised greater political influence with the king. They did not always rest at ease with this position, because the rise of the enhanced transparency of the public business in the public sphere made the elite more nervous when royal demands crossed a boundary that encouraged

⁸³ Giancarlo, *Parliament and Literature* (2007), 60, citing Prestwich, “Parliament and the Community of the Realm” (1983), 5–10.

⁸⁴ Watts, *The Making of Politics* (2009), 8. Also, see Cohn, *Lust for Liberty* (2006).

⁸⁵ Dodd, *Justice and Grace* (2007), 108 and 117.

⁸⁶ Ormrod, “Agenda for Legislation” (1990), 3.

⁸⁷ Waugh, “England: Kingship and Political Community” (2003), 219. Also, see Harriss, *King, Parliament, and Public Finance* (1975).

the potential for rebellion by local communities. Excessive royal taxation, for example, led the nobles to express concern several times before 1350 (1296–1297, 1301, 1311, and 1339–1340) that the burdens were leading to widespread impoverishment and closer to disorder or outright public rebellion.⁸⁸ Here again, the specter of the public as “mob” raised its head.

Ironically, by the late fourteenth century when the parliament became more institutionalized, petitions became less significant in the business at hand and it met less often. Even though by 1350 parliaments in England and elsewhere had been assembled with all the symbolism of the public sphere and the common good in place, it was not until after the second half of the century that the Commons in England at last began to actually play a more meaningful political role, as when it finally carried its weight sufficiently enough to attack royal corruption in the Good Parliament of 1376. But that is another story beyond the scope of this study.

Medieval Community, Representation and the *Populus* in Theory

In her examination of lay society in western Europe between 900 and 1300, Susan Reynolds reached several conclusions, namely that government depended on the collective activities of a wide range of people; that overall, society was quite homogenous in a set of values that accepted inequality and subordination; but that these communities were not “cozy havens of harmony.”⁸⁹ Moreover, she reminds us, studies of medieval government have been greatly concerned over the issues of a perceived dichotomy between lordship and community wherein “popular sovereignty” is viewed as being directed toward securing independence from the lords.⁹⁰ In contrast Reynolds offers a complex model of political power wherein kings who exercised control over a territory were legitimized by custom, lawful subjection, and good public order. The lord had the duty to protect his subjects, while the subjects had to obey. What made a “people” was the “fact of being a kingdom (or some lesser but effective, unit of government) and of

⁸⁸ Waugh, “England: Kingship and Political Community” (2003), 218.

⁸⁹ Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe* (1984), 332; quote at 337. For Reynolds, all “communities” (neighborhood, village, town, province, diocese, parish, or “community of the realm”) were grounded in the idea of “the people” as a community of custom, law, and descent.

⁹⁰ Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe* (1984), 332. See also her more recent brief summary of the various editions since 1984 entitled “Government and Community” (2004).

sharing a single law and government which promoted a sense of solidarity amongst its subjects.”⁹¹ Thus, a community was formed wherein the “public authority” of the lord was tied to the “public welfare” of his subjects, and if the equation was unbalanced by an unjust administration, then the subjects had the right to resist. But large-scale resistance was mitigated for centuries by the sense that a “community of culture and descent” had been formed in which a mutually agreed upon pact had been made.⁹²

These later conclusions of Reynolds were built on a study of the nature of the relationship between law and the community over two and one-half centuries beginning about 900 in which she argued that the nature of communities was

[...] rooted and grounded in older traditions [...] which assumed the existence, rights, and duties of collectivities large and small [...] and decisions of every sort were made by groups, though in ways that we would certainly not consider popular or democratic.⁹³

The bonds of community were found in kinship, war bands, Christianity, and, legal practices deeply rooted in the communities by the time of the emergence of more formal associations beginning in the twelfth century. In the process of law-making, one such example of the power of tradition is found in sources that refer to the normal practice of consultation followed by kings, that is, they did so because “they thought it worthwhile to indicate the weight of support they had received.”⁹⁴ Coming forward, Bracton and Beaumanoir continued to believe that new laws might not be valid unless there was consultation which “made any legislation into a collective act on the part of the whole community.”⁹⁵

Government required other forms of collective activity (e.g., counsel of king by his leading subjects, tax determination and collection, dispute resolution, etc.) in order to function. So long as the lord was “just,” or perceived so, in governing the community the bond was held. In Latin, such communities were known as *gentes*, *nationes* or *populi*, which were vague terms used in many

91 Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities* (1992 ed.), 253.

92 Reynolds, “Government and Community” (2004), 86–87; and, *Kingdoms and Communities* (1984 ed.), 13, where she argues that records of communal activity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries all reflect traditional lay values and concerns over justice that took for granted “a great deal of collective responsibility” to achieve it.

93 Reynolds, “Law and Communities” (1981), 206.

94 Reynolds, “Law and Communities” (1981), 212.

95 Reynolds, “Law and Communities” (1981), 212, referencing Bracton, *De legibus et consuetudinibus Anglie*, ed. Woodbine and Thorne, Selden Society (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1968–1977), ii. 19, 21, 305–06; Beaumanoir, *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, ed. Salmon (Paris: Picard, 1900), §1043, 1512, 1515.

ways. For example, *populus* could refer either to the nobles or the common people. Regardless, in all cases the terms seemed to refer to a kingdom, an area inhabited by a people that needed a king; and, the kingdom usually adopted a name that referred to the people thought to inhabit it (e.g., Franks).⁹⁶ In medieval society up to at least 1000, the collective sense of identity assumed by the *populus* seemed to cut across class lines in bonding people by customs, language, and laws that enabled them to see themselves as a collective entity that distinguished them from other such groups. This sense of community was emotional and seemed to transcend actual internal differences that might be the result of the migration of outsiders into their community.

By the twelfth century, the influence of the classical and patristic thinkers on these views of community began to become evident. Various students of philosophy and theology expressed their views on society in broader and more “political” terms and acquire “public status.” While perhaps the epitome of the medieval public intellectual was not reached until we come to John Gerson (1363–1429),⁹⁷ we can trace an evolution of individuals who began to reach out and shape a metaphysical public space wherein ideas about the nature of the state could be developed and shared. It has been persuasively argued that Gerson desired to inform the public and acquire a large public audience for his ideas. Herein, based on the accumulated research of many others, I conclude that the process began in the late-twelfth century, and that there was an observable attempt to extend the audience beyond that of the universities. Moreover, largely under the influence of the conciliar debates it was accelerating by the mid-fourteenth, just prior to Gerson’s appearance on the scene.⁹⁸

Among the earliest of these men was John of Salisbury (ca. 1120–1180), who under the influence of Neoplatonism, re-examined the place of man on earth. In his *Policraticus* he presented a view of society as a microcosm of nature, a product of the will of God, the *corpus rei publicae* (body of the republic), an ideal community of man described metaphorically as the human body.⁹⁹ In this model, the church is the soul, but the king is still the *caput rei publicae* (head of the republic) and the senate is the heart; thus the monarchical hierarchical

⁹⁶ Reynolds, “Government and Community” (2004), 87.

⁹⁷ Hobbins, “The Schoolman as Public Intellectual” (2003).

⁹⁸ Hobbins, “The Schoolman as Public Intellectual” (2003), 1311. Also, see Miethke, “*Die Konzilien als Forum der öffentlichen Meinung*” (1981). On the idea of a medieval “public” (*Öffentlichkeit*) and Habermas, see Helmuth, “Kommunikation auf den spätmittelalterlichen Konzilien” (1989), 158–59.

⁹⁹ Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 111–113. Also, for a summary of John’s thinking in the *Policraticus*, see Monahan, *Consent, Coercion, and Limit* (1987), 57–70.

structure of the community is not changed.¹⁰⁰ However, what is different is the detailed attention to the role of the greatest number in society, the *populus*, in this case the peasants, who are the feet in the human body. In John's words: "The help of coverings is more justly owed to them who hold up, sustain, and propel the whole body. Remove the help of the feet from the strongest body and it will not proceed by its own strength."¹⁰¹ This explicit recognition of the key role of the *populus* in maintaining the common good within the community is a rare but important step in the broadening of the public sphere because John's *Policraticus* was later drawn upon by the fourteenth-century theorists of the monarchic contribution to the common good.¹⁰²

Less clear is John's attitude toward tyrannicide, a concept that ultimately plays with the role of the people. In one place he states: "The tyrant, the picture of depravity, is for the most part even to be killed."¹⁰³ He later backs away from this absolute, and it is never clear who would be responsible for the execution, that is, would the role fall to the elite or the common people defined as the *populus*. Joseph Canning suggests that it is most likely, however, that John was creating a specter for rulers that might dissuade them from tyranny; but, if not, the real punishment would ultimately come from God. Although John never suggested that the *populus* defined as the common people possessed any real power, in this discussion of tyranny he raises the fear of their potential, that is, the shadow public has power regardless—the implied *vox Dei*.

Finally, John was concerned that the people should play some role in the creation of law, but the role is not well defined. As Rollison remarks, the "feet" of John had a "collective mind of their own," and by the thirteenth century "different people and classes were continuously aware of the existence and power of both versions [of kingship, absolute and political]."¹⁰⁴ Civilians discussed whether the Roman *lex regia*, which was the supposed source of imperial power, was revocable by the "Roman people," and whether that applied in the twelfth century. This did not expand the public sphere much, but he did uphold the idea that laws could only become effective upon public promulgation; without public declaration there was no law.¹⁰⁵

100 Struve, "The Importance of the Organism" (1984), 315.

101 *Policraticus* 5.2., as cited and trans. in Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 111–112.

102 Ullmann, "John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*" (1978), 537, n. 11.

103 *Policraticus* 8.17: "Tirranus, pravitatis imago, plerumque etiam occidendus." As cited in Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 113.

104 Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People* (2010), 77.

105 Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People* (2010), 117.

Scholars have debated how the ideas of John of Salisbury played out in practice. The members of the circle of theologians gathered in Paris around Peter the Chanter were concerned about issues of political obedience. Mostly they considered whether the people had the ultimate right to rebel against an unjust government and concluded that such violence was denied to them. They did not take up relevant questions about the nature of royal authority, the impact of spiritual obligations on political duties, or “who are the people.”¹⁰⁶ In England, the idea of a greater community in which the king was only a member, who could be disciplined or deposed if he did not administer justice in a way that satisfied the people, was an essential part of precedent.¹⁰⁷ After John nobody wrote that tyrannical kings should be resisted or killed, but “most generations after ca. 1250 behaved as if it were so.”¹⁰⁸ In pursuing the *commonweal* those developing the English constitution seemed to agree that although the institution of monarchy was indispensable, individual kings were not. The core issue remained—how does one determine whether the “whole community” agrees that rebellion against a king is justified? Those rebellions post-1350 did not really resolve that issue, but the construct of what constitutes community had become a central part of the debate by the thirteenth century.

In the face of rising opposition to the divine right of kings theory in thirteenth century, the ruling classes of England in the thirteenth century acknowledged the need for public support. Even Glanville and Bracton commented that if the king’s laws were not worthy, “the king and his prelates, earl and barons were bound to amend them ‘by common assent.’”¹⁰⁹ Celebrating the victory of earls over Henry III in 1264, *The Song of Lewes* attributed it to divine intervention, and the deposition of Edward II in 1327 was acclaimed in effect as “*vox Dei*” as manifested in “*vox populi*.”¹¹⁰ There remains a debate as to who was actually expressing the *vox populi* in these instances. On the one side there is the view that the political priorities of the 1250s and 1260s were in the hands of the political elite, while on the other it is suggested that political community extended well beyond the barons.¹¹¹ From his study of the debate Rollison concluded that

106 Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants* (1970), I: 167–70.

107 Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England* (1880), I: 366–67.

108 Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People* (2010), 80.

109 Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities* (1984), 270, n. 45. See also, Valente, *The Theory and Practice of Revolt* (2003), 12, 14, 19, and 27.

110 Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People* (2010), 85.

111 Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People* (2010), 86–87, commenting on the work of Machan, *English in the Middle Ages* (2003), 34–37; and, D. A. Carpenter, “English Peasants in Politics” (1992).

[...] nearly all forms of resistance [...] were enacted in the name of the commonweal, or its linguistic equivalent [...] [therefore] we must consider the possibility that rebellions were major eruptions of a constitutional culture that reached into all ranks of society, as far as Arlette Farge's (and Jürgen Habermas's) 'plebeian public sphere' that was 'suppressed in the historical process.'¹¹²

He further argues that a populist movement began in England in the 1250s, that is, one in which public discourse on the real and ideal nature of the English community was reflected in the resistance of the magnates to the king that was perpetrated in the "name of the people" which forced the king to respond using the same rhetoric.

In the revolts against kings of England before 1350 some consideration has been given to divine will. The deposition of Edward II in 1327, for example, "was attributed in part to divine will as manifested by the 'voice of the people' [*vox populi, vox Dei*]."¹¹³ Modern scholars, including Rollison and Laclau, agree that the revolt against Henry III illustrated the necessary conditions of "populism," namely that there was (1) an antagonistic frontier separating the "people" from power; and (2) a clear articulation of demands that makes the emergence of the "people" possible.¹¹⁴ In trying to expand his domain Henry listened to counsel from French advisors who proclaimed that they represented the English commonweal as they were granted certain liberties and behaved in an arrogant manner which led to mounting number of grievances (i.e., "antagonistic frontier" between the king and the "people"). As the situation worsened there appeared an "obsessive" number of references to *comun* words, which, in many communities of England (estates, villages, towns, districts, etc.), the "people" were "trying to decide what they are and how they relate to each other."¹¹⁵ One telling example perhaps was played out in the village of Peatling Magna in 1265, where a battle against royal forces is thought to illustrate how the villagers expressed opinions about the "community of the realm" at a time when commoners were not supposed to have had any political opinions.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People* (2010), 87–88, referring to Farge, *Subversive Words* (1994), 1.

¹¹³ Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People* (2010), 85. See also Valente, *Revolt in Medieval England* (2003).

¹¹⁴ Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People* (2010), 90; citing Laclau, *On Populist Reason* (2005), 74.

¹¹⁵ Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People* (2010), 91.

¹¹⁶ Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People* (2010), 91.

Marsilius of Padua and the Role of the People

Studies of political representation often get bogged down trying to find clear relationships to or medieval precedents for modern representative democracy.¹¹⁷ However, we are better served if we follow the work of more recent scholars who attempt to keep the study of medieval political theorists within the medieval context. Even though he has played a key role in the historiography of political theory since the early twentieth century, Marsilius of Padua (ca. 1274–ca. 1342) has again become the center of attention on the question of the role of the public and public representation.¹¹⁸

Some scholars argue that Marsilius was the precursor to modern political theorists,¹¹⁹ while others deny that he was a revolutionary thinker; instead suggesting that he more clearly articulated a medieval perspective.¹²⁰ Alan Gewirth first laid out a groundbreaking detailed analysis of key concepts in Marsilius's writings, and Jeannine Quillet placed his thought into the social and institutional background more definitively in order to argue that his idea of popular sovereignty as the source of political authority does not imply the same as the modern concept of such.¹²¹ One of those most keen to understand the significance of Marsilius's place among other medieval political thinkers has been Cary Nederman.¹²² Apparently, with the 2008 publication of Hwa-Yong Lee's doctoral dissertation on Marsilius, significant interest remains.¹²³

117 Nederman, "The Theory of Political Representation" (2006); also, see the Introduction to *Repraesentatio* (2006) by Melloni who discusses the rationale for the project of mapping the term.

118 In addition to Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), see Dunn, "The History of Political Theory" (1996); Coleman, *A History of Political Thought* (2000); and *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, ed. Burns (1988).

119 Laski, "Political Theory in the Later Middle Ages," *Cambridge Medieval History* (1936), VIII: 629; Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning* (1932), 240; Previté-Orton, "Marsiglio of Padua," (1923), 2; and Morrall, *Political Thought in Medieval Times* (1971), 112–13.

120 Carlyle, *A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West* (1903–1936), VI: 9.

121 Gewirth, *Marsilius of Padua* (1951); Quillet, *La Philosophie Politique de Marsilie de Padoue* (1970). Also, see Rubenstein, "Marsilius of Padua and Italian Political Thought" (1965).

122 Nederman has produced a number of challenging studies ranging from John of Salisbury in the renaissance of Ciceronian and Aristotelian thought of the twelfth century to Jean Gerson and Marsilius in the fourteenth. See, for example, "A Duty to Kill" (1988); "Nature, Justice and Duty" (1992); "Aristotle as Authority" (1987); "Conciliarism and Constitutionalism" (1990); *Community and Consent* (1995); "Body Politics" (2004); and an historiographical essay placing Marsilius in the broader context of recent studies of European political thought entitled "Empire and the Historiography of European Political Thought" (2005).

However one chooses to read the *Defensor Pacis*, it is clear that as late as 1324 when Marsilius completed it the ongoing struggle for control of the public sphere between the papacy and secular monarchs was still being hotly contested. Marsilius wrote the *Defensor* in the tone of the political rhetoric of the Investiture Contest of the eleventh and twelfth centuries with the same opposition to the claims of the papacy to temporal power as his primary goal.¹²⁴ Though he began the *Defensor* with a complaint against papal interference in the affairs of Italy, he extended the argument to include “all kingdoms” and urged the secular authorities to “restore the pope to his rightful—if narrowly circumscribed—place within the church.”¹²⁵ The significance of Marsilius’s challenge to the papacy was not lost; the work was condemned as heresy, and he was excommunicated as the papal curia reached out to public opinion to suppress his ideas in the heat of the consideration of the conciliar alternative to papal rule.¹²⁶

By the early fourteenth century ideas about the secular political community reached a new level of consciousness that was being broadly and more openly debated in the public sphere. Marsilius represented a point of view of a community wherein human beings exist to “serve their fellows rather than merely to satisfy themselves.”¹²⁷ It is the duty of citizens to repel all those who might disrupt its earthly harmony; in this case, the pope. Of course, since “the Church” was a universal institution, this duty applied to all communities within the ecclesiastical domain, not just Italy. Marsilius used vague language in constructing his sense of community. Thus, the modern debate over his intentions has been lively. Nederman refers to Marsilius’s theory as “generic,” meaning that in establishing criteria for the good social and political life he purposely did not settle on any particular constitutional framework to guarantee its functionality.¹²⁸ Here Marsilius departed from the medieval tradition that normally preferred one form of government or another. His argument regarding the structure of government concentrated on the “efficient cause—the will of the citizen body.”¹²⁹ In this sense the “vox populi” played a key theoretical role for Marsilius. Although he did

123 Lee, *Political Representation in the Later Middle Ages* (2008).

124 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 14–15.

125 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 16. Regarding the references to “all kingdoms,” see *Defensor Pacis*, ed. Previté-Orton (1928), *Dictio* I.I.3–4; I.19.12.

126 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 16.

127 In support of this idea, Marsilius quoted Cicero, *De officiis*, ed. Miller (1913), I.4.22, as cited in Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 17.

128 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 20. For a range of other points of view, see Condren, “Democracy and the *Defensor Pacis*” (1980); Quillet, “Nouvelles Études Marsiliennes” (1980); and Blythe, *Ideal Government and the Mixed Constitution* (1992), 193–202.

129 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 155

not prefer a single form, and recognizing regional diversity, did not argue that one form is best for all communities, he did specify that, regardless of form, the government must be directed by a single supreme ruler who would govern in a just way to provide for the common good.¹³⁰

The perfect community for Marsilius was one divided between the private and public spheres, with the family and its *paterfamilias* constituting the private, and the community formed voluntarily by individual heads of family as the public sphere.¹³¹ Any community formed must be founded upon and maintained according to a system of law and justice. Communities are only formed by the consent of the citizens who agree to form a pact that balances the private will with public reason.¹³² For Marsilius, consent was the way to the semblance of the natural just community that existed before the sin of Adam.¹³³ The primary duty of a community is to create a ruling part (*pars principans*) or government with an executive, a ruler, who has “prudence and moral virtue, especially justice.”¹³⁴ In return, the primary duty of the ruler is to establish and differentiate the parts of the government and to divide the responsibilities so that the mass of the community can go on with its business. The ruler is therefore viewed as a “delegate of the *human legislator*,” here viewed as a collective entity.

The goal of the community composed of “citizens” should be the “common good.” For Marsilius, a citizen is “one who participates in the civil community, ruling or deliberating or judging according to his rank.”¹³⁵ The issue of who constituted the citizenry (public, people) is crucial in the modern debate. Michael Wilks reads the statement of Marsilius on citizenship as excluding the “masses” from any meaningful role in politics; therefore, the public opinion of the laboring classes with their “natural mental deficiency” would be meaningless as well.¹³⁶ But Nederman argues that Marsilius’s interpretation of Aristotle’s portrayal in the *Politics*, Book 7, of the six major functions in a society (i.e., farmer, artisan, merchant, warrior, priest, and judge) did not disqualify those performing certain functions (i.e., farmer, artisan and merchant) from participation in the gover-

130 *Defensor Pacis*, I.17.1.

131 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 42. On the semantic difficulties of the concepts “private” and “public” in the medieval world, see Moos, ‘*Öffentlich*’ und ‘*privat*’ im *Mittelalter* (2004). Also, see Chittolini, “The ‘Private,’ the ‘Public,’ the ‘State’” (1995); and, a collection of essays based in “public choice” and “public sphere” literatures relevant to the public/private distinction in *Public and Private in Thought and Practice* (1997).

132 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 38 and 46.

133 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 47, citing *Defensor Pacis*, I.6.1–2.

134 *Defensor Pacis*, I.14.2, as cited in Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 58.

135 *Defensor Pacis*, I.12.4, as cited in Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 63.

136 Wilks, “Corporation and Representation” (1972), esp. 274–75.

nance of the community.¹³⁷ In chapter thirteen of the *Defensor*, for example, Marsilius dismissed the idea that only a few wise men were more competent to rule than the “multitude,” which he constructed as those performing *all* of the six functions within a public community. He regarded the mass of the citizen body (*populus*) to be neither vicious nor incapable of discovering and operating on behalf of the common good as noted in the *Defensor* (1.13.6) in these terms: “the assembled multitude of all is able to discern and desire the common justice and benefit in greater measure than any part taken separately, however prudent that part may be.”¹³⁸ Therefore all decisions about public affairs (e.g., new laws) must be placed before the “whole citizen body.”¹³⁹ The *prudentes* were needed to guide the process, but most individuals, despite their lack of leisure and/or education, “nevertheless share in their understanding and judgement of public affairs.”¹⁴⁰ Even though consent appears more to remain passive, one cannot imagine much success in this process without the functioning of public opinion in order to develop “understanding” and exercise influence, or as Bisson has commented, “the possibility of voluntary or active consent was in the air.”¹⁴¹

On the interpretation of the *prudentes* as the *valentior pars* of the community in Marsilius scholars are in disagreement. In contrast to the narrow definition imagined by Condren and the self-governing community of Blythe, Nederman argues that the key to understanding is found in Marsilius’s notion of the human legislator (*legislator humanus*).¹⁴² Citing *Defensor*, I.12.3, for example, where Marsilius states that the *legislator* is “the people or community of citizens, or its greater part, expressed by words through its election or will in the general assembly (*congregatione*) of citizens,” Nederman goes on to examine the role of the *legislator*. As a collective body, not an individual, it first meets or assembles; second, as its main responsibility, it grants or withholds consent; and third, it conducts verbal discussion in order to reach consent. For Nederman these aspects of the legislator’s role all define a “public quality,” that is, these are the activities of “citizens *qua* citizens, utilizing their judgement in order to reflect on civic welfare.”¹⁴³ Hannah

137 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 65.

138 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 65.

139 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 66.

140 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 66, from *Defensor Pacis*, I, 13.7.

141 On the two elements of popular consent, active and passive, and the argument that medieval political thought oscillates between the two, see Monahan, *Consent, Coercion and Limit* (1987), xiii. Also, see Bisson’s review of Monahan’s book in *The American Historical Review* 94 (1989): 110–11; here 111.

142 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 68–70. Condren, “Democracy and the *Defensor Pacis*” (1980); Blythe, *Ideal Government and the Mixed Constitution* (1992).

143 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 69.

Arendt specifically used the terms “public sphere” or “public space” when discussing Marsilius’s definition of the *legislator humanus*, that is, “the realm within which political deliberation occurs and is concluded.”¹⁴⁴

Is this “popular sovereignty”? Nederman’s reading of the *Defensor* draws attention to *Dictio* I, where Marsilius’s “choice of the term *legislator* (literally, maker of the law) as a description of the *public character* of the *universitas civium* suggests that he regards *legislative activity to be the typical form of popular decision making*.”¹⁴⁵ Marsilius regarded lawmaking as the focus for the functioning of the ideal community, and it took the “greater number” of citizens to best determine the law: “For a defect in some proposed law can be *better noted by the greater number than by any part* [...] The common utility of a law is *better noted by the entire multitude*, because no one knowingly harms himself.”¹⁴⁶ In Nederman’s reading of Marsilius’s intent, “When the *populus* enacts a statute, there is no question of its benefit for all citizens”; thus, consent becomes the “touchstone of good law and legitimate government.”¹⁴⁷

Marsilius apparently anticipated the practical difficulties of this process and its implications regarding solicitation of the consent by the masses. His response was to develop a two-step process of law-making. First the *prudentes* were to engage in a “discovery process” wherein precepts would be examined and proposed laws articulated. Then, secondly, a process of “authorization” would take place. In *Dictio* I, we find the envisioned operation of consent described this way:

Although the multitude cannot by itself discover true and useful measures, it can nonetheless discern and judge the measures discovered and proposed to it by others, as to whether they be added to, or subtracted from, or completely changed, or rejected.¹⁴⁸

The details of this operation are not spelled out. However, it is the elevation of the “people” in the theory that is key in the evolution of the public sphere. We must remember that Marsilius had the *populus* in mind when focusing on the law and its purpose. The “multitude” was to play a role in determining the law that governs the community. Proper law was supposed to “promote public welfare

144 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 69.

145 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 75; emphasis mine.

146 *Defensor Pacis*, I.12.5, as cited in Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 77; emphasis mine.

147 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 77.

148 Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 78, citing *Defensor Pacis*, I.13.7.

and justice;" if laws did not do so, they were to be considered "unjust," and an "unjust law" was no law at all.¹⁴⁹

Finally, we come to the issue of political representation in Marsilius. Here he was even more vague as he couched his view on the concept in comments about the prominent practical issue of his era, namely the debate over the authority of a General Council of Church prelates. Overall, he stated his belief that "the primary authority within the Church rests with the General Council," and that the Council was "the only valid source of genuine Christian doctrine in all matters pertaining to religion."¹⁵⁰ For Marsilius, "representation" in Council was not the same as modern interpretations which take it to mean "acting in the interests of the represented, [yet] in a manner responsive to them."¹⁵¹ Representatives somehow have to determine the interests of their constituents, which may in fact differ from their desires.¹⁵² In modern terms they have to sample public opinion, but there is always a "gulf between the policies a government would follow if it responded to the varying *day-to-day expression of public opinion*, and those it must follow if its policies are to be coherent and mutually consistent."¹⁵³ Some argue that Marsilius may have considered members of a Council to be representing the whole body of the faithful, and acting upon some mandate. However, Nederman argues instead that he saw the Council as "representative" in the sense that it codified "the truth of Scripture known to all believers"; therefore, there was no real separation of the interests of the faithful from their desires.¹⁵⁴ This vagueness that leads to conflicting modern interpretations suggests that the Council caused some hesitation in Marsilius as he considered the practical issues of representation. Regardless, there is no doubt that he was very interested in finding a way to raise the role of the multitude in the political processes of the early fourteenth century. The public sphere as a functional arena for debate, reflection, and consideration in order to shape the community was on his mind.

To emphasize the breadth of the context of publicness in which Marsilius was operating we take note of others responding as early as the mid-thirteenth

¹⁴⁹ *Defensor Pacis*, I.10.4; Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 80 and 83.

¹⁵⁰ *Defensor Pacis*, II.18.8. On Hostiensis as a thirteenth-century precursor of Marsilius on the roots of conciliar ideas, see Tierney, "Conciliar Theory of the Thirteenth Century" (1951); and, Tierney, "The Canonists and the Medieval State" (1953).

¹⁵¹ Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation* (1967), 209.

¹⁵² Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation* (1967), 210–12.

¹⁵³ Birch, *Representation and Responsible Government* (1964), 21.

¹⁵⁴ Nederman, *Community and Consent* (1995), 85. On the concept of the Council having delegated political representation in which a representative is deemed to be acting upon a mandate from constituents, see Monahan, *Consent, Coercion, and Limit* (1987), 119–20.

century to the stimulus of Aristotle and Cicero to address issues of community, consent, and representation. Although there were conflicts within the Christian circles over the reception of Aristotle's *Politics*, many examined his conceptions of community and the common good to mold a Christian view. Aristotle had seen the Greek polis as the perfect community wherein the political aspect of man's life was the ultimate one and included all others.¹⁵⁵ The purpose of his community was to attain a life of virtue on earth, the fullest achievement of human potential. On the other hand, the early Church Fathers had seen man's perfect life on earth as coming before the Fall and that rulership and property were necessary remedies for Adam's sin which necessitated a different purpose for life on earth if one was to attain heaven. In the thirteenth century Thomas Aquinas confronted the disparities of these views and decided to adopt a more middling path.

The *Politics* of Aristotle was used widely in political tracts in a rather narrow time frame from about 1250 to 1300, especially in the mirror-of-princes genre. Ptolemy of Lucca, Giles of Rome, and Aquinas provide examples, but the influence of the *Politics* was felt in other genres as well to frame a discussion of the common good.¹⁵⁶ Aquinas held a view of the state that was organic like Aristotle's, namely a "unity of order for the common good, composed of members and not distinguished from them, but a congregation distinguished by its purpose from a mere aggregation of individuals."¹⁵⁷ But he differed from Aristotle over the purpose of society, that is, it was "not to live according to virtue, but through a virtuous life to arrive at the enjoyment of God."¹⁵⁸ To hold together the political community necessary to achieve the "common good" Aquinas favored a limited monarchical government with a mixed constitution containing monarchic, aristocratic, and popular elements. If a success, all three had to participate in the political process.¹⁵⁹

Although Aquinas favored the monarchical form of government for the common good, he recognized the political realities of the Italian city-states and also accepted "government by the people" as a valid form for cities. Since he had already posited that making law "belongs to the *whole multitude or to the public person who has care of the multitude*," this view was consistent.¹⁶⁰ In reading

155 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 127.

156 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 127–29.

157 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 129.

158 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 130, citing Aquinas, *De Regno*, I.15.

159 *Summa Theologiae*, Ia IIae 95, 4; 105, 1.

160 *Summa Theologiae*, Ia IIae 90, 3.

both the history of Rome and events of his own time, however, the ghost of the mob hovered as Aquinas feared that popular governments were too “prone to fall into disunity” and would ultimately fail to achieve peace or the common good. Aristotle’s democracy or popular sovereignty was problematic for Aquinas, but he did admit it would be better than tyranny.¹⁶¹

The treatises of the late thirteenth-century political thinkers were largely theoretical, but the next generation moved in a new direction that confronted directly the political realities of their society, especially the headline issues of power stimulated by the renewed conflict of popes and kings over authority on earth. In addition to Marsilius this generation of the first half of the fourteenth century included Giles of Rome, James of Viterbo, John of Paris, and William of Ockham among its most prominent thinkers. Each attacked the questions of the two swords theory raised by the ultimatum issued by Pope Boniface VIII in his bulls *Asculia fili* (1301) and *Unam Sanctam* (1302).¹⁶²

In the battle for control of public opinion these authors created a new set of broadly-ranging works focused on the nature of power and the hierarchy of its control. Although the debate centered on the extent of papal power on earth and over secular matters in particular, there was room for some discussion of the role of the people from time to time. James of Viterbo (1255–1308), for example, defined the Church as the ideal *regnum* because it was the community of all the faithful.¹⁶³ John of Paris (ca. 1255–1306) believed that although the source of all authority, whether royal or papal, was God, the selection of the holders of those offices was in the hands of the people. The pope was to have only the indirect authority over rulers, namely in the form of excommunication, which also called upon the people to enforce its impact.¹⁶⁴ John was not as sensitive as Marsilius to the potential for abuse of this power in using the public to create *infamia*. For Marsilius the clergy had unfairly used excommunication to undermine secular government, so his model of good government placed its use in the hands of the *humana legislator*.¹⁶⁵ However, the views of both John and Marsilius are somewhat cloudy to us because of their vague usage of key terms. For example, although it is more clear that in John’s mind the “people” were to play key roles in the struggle for power, it is not so clear *who* the people were.

161 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 132.

162 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 138–39.

163 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 144.

164 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 146.

165 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 156, referring to *Defensor Pacis*, 2.6, and 12–13.

William of Ockham (ca. 1285–1347) attacked the papacy for its views on apostolic poverty. His basic claim that truth was more important than human authority made his views on power obscure, but it is evident that, like Marsilius and John of Paris, he rejected the idea of papal *plenitude*, and he also raised the issue of how one should define the public sphere in that age of conflict. He concluded that both the pope and the emperor could interfere in each other's sphere when "extraordinary cases of emergency" demanded. The boundaries of those spheres were fuzzy, but the implications of their need to be public was becoming less so.¹⁶⁶ Ockham was a cynic. He had no confidence in the competence or wisdom of any government or council, so he rejected Marsilius's idea of subjecting the Church to secular control. His nominalist philosophy allowed only individuals any earthy reality. Thus, he recognized the public sphere of human debate, but offered little hope for the power of a collective people.

There is one other theologian, William of Pagula, a parish priest in the early 1330s who has been largely neglected, but whose discussion of individual property rights as the foundation for a theory of government deserves attention in this context.¹⁶⁷ Taking up the subject of the economic rights of peasants in his treatise entitled *Speculum Regis Edwardi III* (1331–1332), William wrote in order to warn the English royal court of an ever-growing discontent among the poor in the countryside.¹⁶⁸ His caution included a review of the issues of popular approval as a foundation for royal power; the nature of the bonds that should exist between a king and the people; and whether a rebellion against a prince is justified. Not alone amidst the tradition of protest literature in England, it is argued, however, that William's treatise was unique in that it was focused on the hardships endured by the peasants who lacked a literate political voice that was loud enough to be heard.¹⁶⁹ He attacked the practice of royal purveyance whereby kings claimed the right to provide via confiscation or unfair payment for goods to sustain both their household and troops while touring the realm. Like the people of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries in France during the origins of the Peace movement, it was the poorest who suffered the most. In his argument for individual property rights at all levels of society, William de-

166 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 160–61. For a more detailed study of Ockham's political views, see McGrade, *The Political Thought of William of Ockham* (1974).

167 *Political Thought in Early Fourteenth-Century England: Treatises by Walter of Milemet, William of Pagula, and William of Ockham*, ed. and trans. Nederman (2002); Nederman, "Property and Protest" (1996).

168 For a discussion of the background, see an unpublished paper by Nederman and Neville, "The Origins of the *Speculum Regis Edward III* of William of Pagula" (2003).

169 Nederman, "Property and Protest" (1996), 329–30.

clared that “People ought to be free to do for themselves and theirs, according to their will.”¹⁷⁰

Proceeding further into his list of issues, William of Pagula agreed with other medieval thinkers that an evil ruler is finally answerable to God, but also is accountable to his subjects. In the process of governing a king ought to “acquire the love of the people.”¹⁷¹ But love possesses a special connotation in William’s view, namely that since property is the key to a good society, a king should be prudent with his resources, not plunder those of others, and use any surplus to look after the poor. If a king does, as William urged, namely “Take heed, lord king, because without good counsel you make war every day,”¹⁷² he will secure the “love” necessary to maintain his throne and avoid the unjust practices of his peers elsewhere. Elsewhere (e.g., *Speculum*, A. 11), William suggests the dangers of an explicitly popular rebellion, that is, if the subjects cannot trust the king, they will not hesitate to replace him with someone they can “love.” As Nederman speculates, “Perhaps William holds to the view that the populace acts as the agent of a divine will in fomenting revolt.”¹⁷³ *Vox populi, vox Dei* !

In addition to these treatises of the more major thinkers, the jurists of the early fourteenth century exhibited major concerns over the common good. In response to the political upheavals within the Italian city-states, Bartolus of Sassoferrato (1313–1357), for example, developed a theory of popular sovereignty.¹⁷⁴ Recognizing the role of the “people” in both custom and statute, he argued that the consent of the people could act as an alternative to the will of the ruler. Customary law, he pointed out, was made by consent and did not need the authorization of any superior. Statutes were also a result of the people’s express consent; therefore, they had the same force and did not need superior approval, which in his view, was a prime requisite to the exercise of sovereignty.¹⁷⁵

170 Nederman, “Property and Protest” (1996), 332 and 334.

171 *Speculum*, A.34, as cited in Nederman, “Property and Protest” (1996), 338.

172 *Speculum*, B, 37, as cited in Nederman, “Property and Protest” (1996), 339.

173 Nederman, “Property and Protest,” 341; *Political Thought in Early Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. Nederman, (2002), 72. For a review of various forms of peasant collective action before 1350 from Marxist point of view, see Hilton, *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism* (1985), esp. no. 9, which deals with the practical ways that the peasants took action, such as in the courts, rather than by means of theoretical treatises.

174 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 168. Also, see the still valuable study by Woolf, *Bartolus of Sassoferrato* (1913).

175 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 169. For Bartolus the council structure of the city-states could represent popular opinion, see Ullmann, *De Bartoli sententia* (1962), II: 711–26.

Thus, in a city the *populus* could be free *de jure* by securing imperial permission, or *de facto* by refusing to recognize an emperor as superior.¹⁷⁶

Following Bartolus, his pupil Baldus de Ubaldis (1327–1400) took a more practical approach to their theories of popular sovereignty. As jurists they used legal interpretations of the actual political circumstances of the Italian city-states and not the model of past historical events or the *lex regia* of ancient Rome to shape their views. But Baldus went further than Bartolus to develop an “even closer understanding of the role of popular consent in the establishment of *de facto* sovereignty.”¹⁷⁷ To be a citizen was to be a member of a corporation, which Baldus defined as a legal entity independent of the individuals who were a part of it. As a *persona* (legal person), the corporation became a *persona ficta* (fictive person). The “phantom public” here was being given legal status. The *populus* of the city as corporation acted through “the instrumentality of its mortal members organized as a structure of councils and representative elected officials.”¹⁷⁸ In Canning’s view, Baldus in particular was in opposition to the mainstream of nominalist thinkers such as Ockham and did not maintain the Aristotelian view that tended to identify a state with its individual members.¹⁷⁹ Instead, Baldus moved toward the “modern idea of the state as an abstract locus or apparatus of power entirely distinct from any human beings.”¹⁸⁰

This fourteenth-century attack on the realities of power focused primarily on one alternative to secular or ecclesiastical monarchical rule, namely the councils of representatives. An interesting point was reached in the work of Guilielmus Durantis the Younger (ca. 1266–1330). In his *Tractatus maior* (Greater Tract) he proposed that the power of “the Church” should be vested in a General Council of representatives that would meet every ten years to deliberate and decide matters of faith. It would not be called by the pope and its validity would be embedded in its constitution in order to be a part of its regular governmental structure and not at the whim of any individual or group of clerics. Guilielmus also thought that the pope should be placed under the budgetary control of this General Council.¹⁸¹ Like John of Paris, it appears that he agreed that a representative Council could rule better because it was more likely to understand the issues of

176 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 169.

177 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 169. Also, see Canning, *The Political Thought of Baldus de Ubaldis* (1987).

178 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 172.

179 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 173.

180 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 173.

181 Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (1996), 175.

the faithful. Not as clear, however, was how the members of the Council would be chosen or how they would come to understand the *vox populi*.

In sum, the medieval political thinkers from John of Salisbury in the twelfth to Marsilius and his peers in the early fourteenth century were grappling in various ways with the power of the *populus* and developing a richer concept of the public sphere of public opinion within which those ideas could be tested. The political philosophers were trying to wrap the *populus* into theories of representation rather than direct participation in order to preserve the role of the *valentior pars*. Thus, they offered councils and representative parliaments to expand the role. Throughout this process there is no conclusion that the “people” should have direct political power, but the vagueness of the usage of terminology, and the ultimate attempt by Baldus de Ubaldis to create the fictive person as legal corporate entity to represent the people suggest that the need to recognize much more formally a larger role for the *populus* could no longer be avoided in the face of events in the Italian city-state republics and on the eve of popular rebellions post-1350.

As we began this overview of the evolution of the public and the public sphere I indicated that a major theme would be that of power. Nederman has taken up the issue within the context of the modern debate as to whether Marsilius was a theorist of power or of consent.¹⁸² There are difficulties with both interpretations. For example, pure consent would always and invariably lead to outcomes conducive to the common good; the power theory leads to the misuse and abuse of governmental office by secular rulers and clerics. Nederman has offered an alternative by examining Marsilius’s discussion of the origins and nature of human association and community, wherein he believes that humans seek both their self-preservation and their spiritual well-being. To best achieve these goals humans should live cooperatively in communities designed to preserve the earthly common good. Political power is deemed necessary in order to insure public order, that is, “Political Power is the remedy for the potential conflicts and communal disturbances caused by self-interest.”¹⁸³ In order to make this work, since political power is inherently designed to attain a personal advantage, consent has to be a part of the equation in order to distinguish private, personal power from power that promotes the common public good.

¹⁸² Nederman, “Community and Self-Interest” (2003). Those on the side of power include Gewirth, *Marsilius of Padua* (1951), I: 9; Condren, “Democracy and the *Defensor Pacis*” (1980); Moreno-Riaño, “Poverty and Political Power” (2003); and Canning, “The Role of Power” (1999). On the consent side, see Tierney, *Religion, Law, and the Growth of Constitutional Thought* (1982), 48; and Nederman, especially his *Community and Consent* (1995).

¹⁸³ Nederman, “Community and Self-Interest” (2003), 398.

One difficulty of reading Marsilius in the context of the evolution of the public sphere is that he was in conflict with the clerical community over the separation of spiritual and temporal matters of everyday life.¹⁸⁴ In fact, the central argument of the *Defensor pacis* is to rebuke the papal claim to “*plenitudo potestatis*,” and the corollary to that, namely to deny the clergy any role in judging the temporal good of human beings. The “consent of citizens” was required to determine the common good; clergy were excluded from “citizenship” in this civic function.¹⁸⁵ How did citizens determine what is good for all? If members of the community decided a common decision was beneficial, or at least not harmful to each as an individual, then that was the common good. Thus, in this reading of Marsilius, power is bestowed to the “people,” defined as citizens, but not including that significant part of the public we know as clergy.

The theoretical discussion on power continued long after but was still influenced by the theorists who came before 1350. Nicholas of Oresme (1348–1382), who looked back at Marsilius as he wrote several glosses on the *Politics* of Aristotle, concluded that the “multitude” was the foundation of political power.¹⁸⁶ Indeed, he argued that the multitude must be “reasonable,” and royal power has to be less than that of the “whole multitude” or its *vaillant partie*, which was Marsilius’s *valentior pars*. For a model, Nicholas offered the general assembly of the masters of the University of Paris. Even though in truth he favored royal government as the best form, he did assert that it might be expedient at times for that multitude or a part of it, to have power. Yet, this ambivalence still portrays anxiety over the potential abuse of power by the phantom public.

In closing this chapter we note that modern scholarship affirms that most medieval authors took it for granted that legitimate authority was based on the “people,” but that did not mean that they agreed that the people were the best judges of their own needs, or how they should be satisfied.¹⁸⁷ Many believed that popular consent made for a stronger government, but only a small minority thought it conferred legitimacy. So what did they mean by consent? The answer seems to be found in custom; that is, consensus was fundamental to customary law; therefore “if people disapproved they would have changed the custom.”¹⁸⁸ In practice, at least in England, scholars conclude that this did not mean a “mindless acquiescence” by the Commons in parliament, for example. Active

184 See for example, *Defensor pacis*, I.4.3., where he acknowledges that there are two kinds of human ends, earthly and heavenly.

185 Nederman, “Community and Self-Interest” (2003), 400–01.

186 Quillet, “Community, Counsel and Representation,” *CHMPT* (1988), ed. Burns, 565.

187 Dunbabin, “Government,” *CHMPT* (1988), ed. Burns, 515.

188 Dunbabin, “Government” (1988), 518.

consent was required more and more to impose and collect taxes or enact legislation by the time we reach the middle of the fourteenth century.¹⁸⁹ That was real power.

¹⁸⁹ Most legislation was based on petitions by 1377. *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages*, ed. Davies and Denton (1981), 45.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

In her 1992 review of Menache's *The Vox Dei* Lisa Bitel commented that medieval historians were not surprised by her argument that modern communications were born in Europe in the period after 1000; that popes and kings knew how to use slogans, symbols and stereotypes; and, that "the medieval public was cleverly becoming sensitive to the possibilities of political communication."¹ In some sense, one might infer from this comment that no further work needed to be done for us to understand the medieval "public." Perhaps, but what is interesting is the degree to which medievalists from many disciplines have continued to explore the various ways the ideas of "public" and the "possibilities of political communication" were being developed. I conclude this study of the evolution of the medieval understanding of the role of the "people" and the metaphorical and practical development of the public sphere with a much greater appreciation of the complexity of any era's notion of the "public," "public opinion," and "public sphere." As well, it is also clear that my study has only touched the surface of a very exciting and dynamic ongoing area of research.

Overall, I have tried to show how the concept of 'the people' developed from the era of the Peace councils in the late tenth century until the production of theoretical political treatises by mid-fourteenth century. By focusing on major "media events" (Peace and clerical reform movements, development of heresy, the crusades) it became more evident how both the clerics and the laity, but especially the clergy, were aware of the potential for using a claim of support from 'the people' to advance a political cause. By the time we reach the mid-fourteenth century and the maturation of the urban environment, however, we find a much more dynamic utilization of public space to develop a public political culture where the laity play more active roles. In the same era, political thinkers struggled with how to position 'the people' in the governance of the realm to best achieve the common good. What emerges is that 'the people' never gained a theoretical place in their quest for real political power, but in practice they began to play very significant roles in the design, construction and uses of public space. Moreover, it is clearer now that many power brokers in these various stages of the evolution were aware of the need to understand and to try to influence significant numbers of 'the people' in order to achieve their political goals. Thus, public opinion did play measurable roles in shaping

1 Bitel, in *The American Historical Review* 97 (1992): 534–35; here 535.

the actions of popes, kings, lords, abbots, and public officials as they negotiated control of property, territory, and political authority.

In chapter two above, we analyzed studies of the Peace and Truce of God that placed that movement squarely within the context of a period of religious enthusiasm, saints' cults, relic displays, pilgrimage, church reform and church building that attracted crowds and used those crowds for various purposes in a struggle over power. Power was contested within the ecclesiastical community between and among the monastic and secular orders throughout this period. As well, the papacy and bishops were in conflict with the secular rulers over issues of authority and the *plenitudo potestas* or "right order" in society. The role of the people in this era was largely metaphorical in the sense that the rhetoric claimed rectitude on the basis of popular support or used the regular assemblies of crowds to awaken the proponents of political issues to the potential dangers of being out of synch with the "will of the people." As well, such use rather quickly led contemporaries to back away from calling together crowds that might become mobs. This applied to both peace councils and the assemblies of saints' cults. Public ceremonies can be volatile, and not all participants necessarily had the same goals. Some were local residents, while others were pilgrims, or visitors from other monasteries who might just come to steal trade secrets from more successful cults. These assemblies did not guarantee peace or even sufficient revenue generation to offset costs, but they did create crowds of people.² So, clerics experimented with other means of influencing those crowds—excommunication, interdicts, the *clamor*, and cursing—in order to maintain control of public opinion in the public sphere.

Whereas the Peace of God movement had a rather limited, local and/or regional, influence on the inhabitants of those regions, as seen in chapter three the attempt to reform the Christian clergy greatly expanded the reach and the need to influence a much broader dimension of society. In their labors to prevent simony, clerical marriage, and lay investiture, the popes used different weapons to attack those opposed to reform. Therein, we found a personal approach through letters and networks of "friends" that built 'public' support for the papacy and opposition from the royalty. Polemical treatises were also employed by supporters of both royal and papal power in an effort to call upon the support of tradition, and various authorities (Scripture mostly) in the attempt to persuade this increasingly literate public of the "right order," or at least of the correct side to choose. Through these various forms of propaganda, this struggle helped

2 Abou-El-Hai, "Audiences for the Medieval Cult of Saints" (1991).

the protagonists to understand the value of a personal approach, as well as the ongoing need to secure support from the metaphorical people.

Studies examined in chapter four of the development and suppression of heresy, reveal a very significant role played by public opinion in an ever-expanding public sphere. In the twelfth century, the perceived threat of a break with the faith, as witnessed in the popular turn toward the *vita apostolica*, was diverted into a pathway of public religious dissent. Ultimately it was deemed necessary to define dissent as heresy and to suppress it with the support of public opinion. In Languedoc, as late as mid- twelfth century, matters of doctrine were still treated as appropriate for open public debate. Inward looking and proud of its local sense of *communitas*, Languedoc was content to test its belief structures in response to the challenges from inside or outside the community, but it did not welcome the papal preaching mission sent there to “assist” them.³ Preaching openly thus challenged the authority of orthodox faith and the authority of the local bishops to authorize preaching itself, a challenge that had to be met openly in order to secure the trust of the people. To become heresy, a set of beliefs had to be condemned publicly, and the individual holding those beliefs had to refuse to recant them in public. To isolate heretics, the ecclesiastical authorities cooperated with the secular in order to use public spaces to condemn and punish, even execute sometimes, the guilty parties. In this process, “the people” became witnesses and their opinions were influenced in some way. The “war on heresy” became so widespread that it affected public opinion throughout Christendom. “No opinion” was not an option offered. Silence was assumed as a vote for orthodoxy; while a vote to support the heretics could mean facing a crusade and being on the wrong side of violence.

In the examination of the scholarly literature on the crusades in chapter five, we found an explosion of research in the past three decades. Also placed within the context of religious enthusiasm, origins of the First Crusade call attention to the influence of the sermon as a means of communication to reach audiences across the entire spread of Christendom. This research also reveals the way in which opposition to crusading could influence the rhetoric of powerful individuals such as Bernard of Clairvaux, who saw the need to couch the failure of the Second Crusade as an expression of *vox Dei* in order to dampen the anger of the *vox populi*. In order to gain support for another venture to the Holy Land, the people needed to be once again persuaded that it was a Christian duty to participate in God’s war. Public support was essential. In seeking to influence public

³ For discussion of the discourse of societal change in the context of post-1000 challenges to tradition, see Nichols, *Romanesque Signs* (1983), esp. 2–9.

opinion, the popes ramped up preaching campaigns that were so omnipresent that is likely that no practicing Christians could escape hearing at least one sermon urging some form of support for one crusade or another during their lifetime. No individual was disposed to have “no opinion” about the crusades, whether expressed publicly or not. As well, the crusades were a time in which public opinion was actively solicited by the clerical establishment, and it did influence papal decisions, including delays in crusading after the failure of the Second Crusade and Innocent III’s rescheduling the launch of the Fourth.

As we saw in chapter six, by 1250 to 1350 public space was growing and its use was being more hotly contested by ‘the people.’ Traditional uses of church property for lay public events, the changes in topics of literature, and theater, the expansion of public squares and the number of processions and spectacles to entertain and influence the publics who observed and participated, all indicate a new attitude about the role of the people in political life. These events attracted a cross-section of the layers of society, delivered common messages for deliberation, and invited public discussion. Marketplaces were where one received news, witnessed public punishments for sins or crimes, heard announcements of royal decisions regarding the law or taxes, or the business of local public officials was pursued. In all of these situations the emphasis had become what is “public” and needs the attention of the public.

In chapter seven, political thinkers were examined to see how all of these changes might have affected their constructions of the ideal community. They struggled with the role of ‘the people.’ Some considered active roles, but most still reinforced the metaphorical role of the people in affirming decisions made by the elite. The maxim *Quod omnes tangit* was debated, parliamentary bodies came into play and gradually gained a greater sense of the need to be representative of the needs and desires of the broader masses of ‘the people.’ The kings of England even allowed “common petitions” concerning the good of commonweal to be presented. Nevertheless, real power remained in the hands of the elite. Courts of law, however, witnessed the voice of the people playing a more active role as *fama publica* and *infamia* were permitted to be a factor in deciding cases. In the face of the crisis of the papacy over whether a General Council should manage Church affairs, theorists considered more fully the issues of representation, and wrote treatises in support of or against the proposed changes. The abstraction of election and the role of the faithful was not overlooked, but at best, as in the case of Marsilius of Padua, the role of “the people” was only vaguely defined.

Whether one agrees with Moore that changes in the traditional feudal hierarchy, social orders, and dominant ideologies of medieval society from 970 to 1215 represented a revolution, that is, a transfer of power to a new dominant

class, it is hard to argue against the idea that public opinion and the notion of the power of the people became a tool in that struggle.⁴ The most recent research has revealed a great more about the details of the roles of people acting collectively. The Peace of God, ecclesiastical reform, the battle against heresy, and the crusades were all supported by the popular opinion of “the faithful people.” Periodically, the threat of public action, such as withdrawal of obedience to local authority in the cases where the popes or bishops issued banns of excommunication or interdict, attested to the real power of the appeal to the *populus*. Reaching for a sense of community around common issues, the people had to be led; clergy were developing local spheres of influence that used public places to publicize and enforce public actions. In the Peace of God movement and the buildup of monasteries, power was defined in terms of the control of property, and the clergy enlisted the crowds at Peace and relic assemblies to provide the threat of potential action by those assembled to enforce actions taken against breakers of the peace. This did not lead to greater “power to the people” per se, but it did set the phantom of the public more deeply into the mindset of Europeans throughout Christendom.

Early on the fear of crowds becoming mobs was deemed useful by the changing political order, whether of the lay or ecclesiastical form. Information flowed along lines of community, that is, it followed the social hierarchy except when political issues rose above the local level. Normally, peasants and craftsmen had less information than the elite who had more access to sources. But, as greater centralization occurred, it became necessary to manipulate public opinion once again so as to force it “back into the bottle the genie of popular power.”⁵ As more peasants moved into urban centers, it has been argued that they became more susceptible to propaganda because they had lost the familiar trusted contacts provided by family and local community members. When the clerical authorities needed to present a point of view, the preacher became the obvious medium of potentially greatest influence. To control opinion therefore one needed to control preaching.

To what degree did control of opinion represent power? Very recent studies on the application of Foucault claim that power is dialogic, and not imposed unidirectionally.⁶ Testing the evidence for such a theory in the various forms of power in medieval life has begun. Christine Ames, in her argument for historiciz-

⁴ Moore, *The First European Revolution* (2000), 5 and 14.

⁵ Moore, *The First European Revolution* (2000), 168.

⁶ Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society* (1997); Given, “Social Stress, Social Strain” (1996); Roach, “Penance and the Making of the Inquisition” (2001); and, Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society* (1987), 151.

ing the role of the inquisitors, has reminded us of the instability of religion in general, and certainly of its fragility in attempting to eradicate heresy in the twelfth century.⁷ What is particularly relevant in the study of the inquisition is the way in which its methods became a matter of public controversy. Public objections to the harshness of penalties imposed upon heretics led Humbert of Romans to write in his *De eruditione predicatorum* (ca. 1266) that preachers needed to explain in public sermons why heretics deserved more strident treatment than other sinners. In response to the lay outcry against the death penalty, Humbert rationalized that this was not something new, it was allegedly “prescribed” in a biblical tradition that recounted the killing of those who “contumaciously abandoned God.”⁸ Appeals of this type to influence public opinion drew upon the conceived community of Christians as one in which all members “were subject to a God who held a boundless power and discipline in historically located, religious ways.”

Public opinion operates at many levels at all times, but it comes to our attention most fully during times of crisis. When events that affect the greatest number, and/or threaten or are perceived (or made to perceive) as a threat to the common good, it becomes necessary to seize control of rumor and news in order to shape opinion. Though the citizens of Languedoc seemed to object to the construction of a threat to the common good, the clergy did not. This principle of control directed other applications when power was in the balance as we have seen above in this study. When you can persuade the public that you are an agent of God’s power, you may have the upper hand.

This brings us back to the point of origin of this study. What is “the public”? Even at this point we still have a difficult time defining it. This is as true today as it was in medieval Europe. In this regard I am consoled to some degree by the commentary of Michael Warner, who observes that:

Publics have become an essential fact of the social landscape, and yet it would tax our understanding to say exactly what they are. [...] *The public* is a kind of social totality. Its most common sense is that of the people in general. [...] people organized as the nation, the commonwealth, the city, the state, or some other community. It might be very general, as in Christendom or humanity. But in each case the public, as a people, is thought to include everyone within the field in question.⁹

7 Ames, “Does Inquisition Belong to Religious History?” (2005).

8 Ames, “Does Inquisition Belong to Religious History?” (2005), 22; citing *De eruditione predicatorum*, 555.

9 Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics” (2002), 49.

Based on the vagueness of the sources remaining to us, this has potential application to the medieval world as well. Yet he argues there are two other senses of the public that seem more applicable. The second is what he calls “audience,” such as for a theater presentation. But he spends most of his time discussing the third sense, “the kind of public that comes into being only in relation to texts and their circulation.”¹⁰ This resonates in the work of Brian Stock on the “textual communities” of the twelfth century, but it also urges us to consider further the need for the analysis of discourse. What messages were being crafted, for what reasons, and how were they being sent to others that might be considered publics? To paraphrase Warner, could there be a public if there was no one to address it?

In the modern sense, Warner argues that a public is self-constructed; it is “never just a congeries of people.”¹¹ It is not a crowd nor a group; it is a public formed for discourse, that is, very much like Habermas’s construct of the public sphere. He further argues that a public must be “active, curious, alert,” which is counter to Lippmann’s conclusion that normally members of the public of the political world are not well-informed.¹²

Despite Warner’s careful delineation of the argument and the way it encourages comparison with earlier eras, I find these aspects suggestive, but not definitive with respect to providing further insight regarding the Middle Ages. More interesting, however, is his conclusion that publics are in constant need of attention and do not exist without it. In other words, publics are “virtual entities.”¹³ Thus, I reaffirm my own contention that the medieval ‘public’ was the metaphorical equivalent to the “people,” the *populus*. It was not one self-constructed entity, however, it was several “publics” that were created as need be and called to bear in support via public opinion as shaped by those in control of the media of communication. I have also argued that it had a physical reality that could be measured and have impact on the political decisions of the clerical and lay establishment in their various struggles for control of power and authority.

Public opinion is a dialogue. The governing authorities gain most of the information they trust about public opinion from members of the elite. Yet, the elite to some degree also function as transmitters of the opinions of the mass public. They may filter it and separate out the views of the majority, but are likely accurate in their transmission of the bulk of it. I believe this functioned similarly

10 Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics” (2002), 50.

11 Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics” (2002), 51.

12 Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics” (2002), 60, citing Lippmann, *The Phantom Public* (1993), 4–5 and 10–11.

13 Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics” (2002), 61.

in the medieval world, as evidence the response of Innocent III to what he perceived accurately as significant opposition to his implementation of a crusade so quickly in 1199. Similarly, Gregory X received input from his elite sources from across Europe as he planned a crusade in the 1270s. In each case the opinion necessitated new approaches, more propaganda to try to change opinion, and delays in organizing new expeditions to the Holy Land.

Several other medieval lessons about the nature of public opinion seem to emerge from this study. First, interpersonal social contacts are often more persuasive than messages delivered via the mass media. Compare for example, the use of personal letters and social networks in the Investiture Contest, as well as the charismatic preaching of individuals such as Urban II, with the rather bland model sermons for the preaching of the crusades in the thirteenth century. Second, people expose themselves to useful information. Therefore, one must try to determine what members of society consider useful as you put forth propaganda to persuade them to do something new, like go on a crusade. Third, it is difficult to sustain interest in “foreign policy” (e.g. expeditions to the Holy Land or against other Christians) especially if it is failing and does not directly appear “useful.” Fourth, even in non-democratic societies, the elite are concerned with social order, desire approval, and want to build consensus for their views; thus, public opinion matters. Fifth, religious symbols are important; they carry degrees of cultural power that can be used to persuade the public.

Finally, as we compare the attempts to empower the people in political theory, we note the reluctance to give more concrete form to the concept of ‘the people’ or ‘representation’ of their views. But in fact, this is what gave ‘the people’ power. Concepts only acquire greater precision through use. As the practical aspects of daily life in the later Middle Ages actually opened public space to greater use by the people, they began to acquire and use power in new ways. It appears that the fear of the “rising of the people” carried more weight, as it does today, than the actual definition of its meaning and its limits might ever do.

Abbreviations

<i>Annales ESC</i>	<i>Annales. Économies, Sociétés, et Civilisations</i> ; periodical (Paris: 1946–; since 2005, <i>Annales</i>).
<i>CHMPT</i>	<i>The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c. 350–c. 1450</i> , ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
<i>MGH SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores</i> (in progress, Hanover, 1826–).
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina</i> , 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–1963).
<i>QOT</i>	<i>Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur</i> (What touches all should have the approval of all).

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Note: Anthologies of selected studies and institutional histories are listed by the title, not by the name of the first editor, and by the main first word after the article in the title: e.g., *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought* is found alphabetically under “C”; *The First Crusade*, under “F”; *L’espace Moyen Âge*, under “E.” Otherwise, the Secondary Sources are listed alphabetically by last name of the author.

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